



The EFFIGEY of
OLIVER CROMWEL,
Late Lord-Protector of ENGLAND



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L - I F E
O F R

Oliver Cromwel,

Lord P R O T E C T O R

Of the

Common-Wealth

Of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Being an Account of all the Battles, Sieges,
and other Military Atchievements, wherein he was engaged, in these Three Nations.

And likewise, of his Civil Administrations,
while he had the Supream Government, till
his Death.

Relating Matter of Fact, without Partiality.

L O N D O N:

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in the *Strand*.



THE PREFACE.

THE R E is scarce a Character of any Man of Fame in the World, which suffers such an unaccountable Variety, as this, of Oliver Cromwel. His History is told so many Ways, and so every way different from one another, that it will be impossible for Posterity to make a right Judgment of him, or of his Accounts.

On one hand he is represented as a Hero, on the other as a Traytor; on the one hand he is called the greatest Soldier, on the other the greatest Villain of the Age he liv'd in; on one side he is the greatest Polititian, on the other the greatest Hypocrite; on one side the greatest General, on the other the greatest Tyrant; but I must add, that both sides agree, that he was what ever they add to it, not Great only, but the Greatest.

In a Word, Party is the Test of his History, if a Cavalier writes History we know what to expect of him (viz.) that Oliver shall be villify'd with the utmost Spleen and Rage: If a Round-head, he shall be exalted with the utmost Rhetorick. However to speak Impartially, the Cavalier's will acknowledge this, namely, that he was a great Man, will often say

The PREFACE.

what great Things he has done, and how happy it had been, if he had been on the King's side: And on the contrary, the Presbyterian's will say on all Occasions, how glorious a Man had he been, if he had but done So and So? (viz.) if he had but turn'd out the P. set him up and the like.

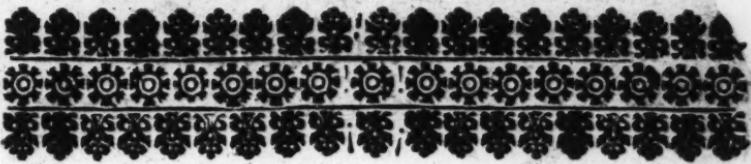
To do his Character Justice, two Actions fully'd it in general, namely, cutting off the King, and setting himself up as Head of the Common-wealth; in the first he dipp'd his hands in a cold Murder on the Person of his Sovereign; and in the second he darken'd all the Glory of his Gallantry, and of the great Things he had done in the Field, shewing that it was all with a secret Aim to gratify his private Ambition.

Abstracted from these, Character was truly Great, and 'tis among such as are scarce to be imitated in the World; this was acknowledg'd by his worst Enemies. The whole is Elegantly express'd in two Lines by that excellent Poet Mr. Melvell.

Tho' his Government did a Tyrant resemble,
He made England great & her Enemy's tremble.

But I return to his History, and shall give a Brief but Sure and Impartial Draft of, with all possible Partiallity.

THE



THE
LIFE of
Oliver Cromwel, &c.

LIVER CROMWEL was born at *Huntington*, descended of the ancient Family of the *Williams's*, of the County of *Glamorgan*; and by Adoption into that of the *Cromwels*, the more noble Family, as descend of *Thomas Cromwel*, Earl of *Essex*, the Ax that hew'd down the Abbeys in the Time of King *Henry the Eight*.

His Education, in his Youth, was, for a Time, at the University of *Cambridge*, where, though he attained to no great Perfection in Learning, yet, with his other Additionals, the Fox's Tail with the Lion's Skin, his Strength of Reason with the Sharp Edge of his Sword, stood him in great Stead in his After-transactions; and which, together with his indefatigable Industry, render'd him so fortunate,

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that he never fell short of what he undertook.

After his Return from the University, without any extraordinary Respects from the Muses, whose Unkindness he afterwards most severely retaliated, he resolved for the Future, upon the first Advantage, to try the Fortune of *Mars*; but long it was ere the blind Goddess provided him any Action; during which Time he married a Gentlewoman of the ancient Family of the *Bourchiers*, (whence the Earls of *Essex* were descended) by whom he had two Sons that survived him, *Richard* and *Henry*, and three Daughters, *Brigget*, *Mary*, and *Frances*.

For his private Fortunes they were competent, a Mediocrity betwixt Riches and Poverty; the one blunting the Edge of Wit and Industry, the other, by its Hardship, whetting it quite away. But what was wanting in his Estate, was supplied in the greatness of his Mind, which put him upon high Attempts, which proved so successful, that at last they placed him at the Helm of Government.

He took his first Rise from the long Parliament, where he was a Member, being chosen Burgess for the University of *Cambridge*; in this Parliament that Fire burst forth

forth, which had been long before in kindling, that fatal Division betwixt King and Parliament; with which last he wholly sided: What Motives induced him thereunto, I know not, nor will I determine of the Integrity of his Choice; this I am sure of, he took the more fortunate, or, by his Manhood, made it so.

When he delivered his Mind in the House, it was with a strong and masculine Eloquence, more able to perswade than to be perswaded; his Expressions were hardy; Opinions resolute; Asseverations grave and vehement, always intermixt, *Andronicus* like, with Sentences of Scripture, to give them the greater Weight, and the better to insinuate into the Affections of the People, he expressed himself with some kind of Passion, but with such a commanding wise Deportment, that at his Pleasure he governed and swayed the House, as he had most Times the leading Voice.

Those who find no such Wonders in his Speeches, may find it in the Effect of them; most of the People he was concerned in, being, as they term it, Enemies to Book-learning; and whosoever should endeavour, with an eloquent Oration, or otherwise go about to reconcile them, and make Friends,

Friends, should make them Enemies ; such great Adorers are they of the Scripture Phrase, though but little Practicer's ; such as our late Times have brought forth. Indeed he usurp'd his holy Oil Quotations very frequently, which were so advantageous to his Designs, that *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*, with all their Troops and Figures, could never have so perswaded and moved the People, as he with one Text of Scripture aptly applied ; the Dove, and the Serpent, of Scripture, and some small Parcel of Policy, to what he intended, slyly intermixed.

But his Side standing more in need of Action then Eloquence, he quitted the House, and betook him to the Field, to manifest his Courage as well as his Eloquence, maintain by his Deeds what his Words had introduced.

Having raised a Troop of Horse at his own Costs and Charges, he marched against the Muses to Cambridge, (whereof he was Burges) seizing on a very considerable Sum of Money and Plate, which the Colleges had raised, and were sending away unto Oxford ; which, as it was very advantageous to his own Side, (Money being the very Life and Sinews of War) so did it much weaken the adverſe Party, who

who had always great Want of it. The Parliament having on their Side the rich City of *London*, that inexhaustible Bank of Treasure. By this Means he strengthened himself with sufficient Aids to oppose the Lord *Capel*, who was to have been feconded by Prince *Rupert*, and should have seized on *Cambridge*, thereby to have impeded the Association of the adjoining Counties for the Parliament.

He being advanced from a Captain to a Colonel, having compleated a Regiment of Horse, to the full Number of a thousand Men, in the Spring of the Year he marches to *Lowerstoft* in *Suffolk*, where he suddenly surprized Sir *Thomas Barker*, Sir *John Fetas* his Brother, with above twenty other Persons of Note, who were entring into an Association for the King; several Peasons of Quality, and divers Noblemen hourly flocking to that Rendezvouz; this other Service was very seasonably render'd to the Parliament, the King's Party both in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, being much disengaged by this Succes.

Having, by new raised Aids, inforced his Army to a very considerable Strength, he marched into *Lincolnshire*, with a Resolution to assist those Forces that lay about *Newark*, a very strong and stout Garrison

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rison of the King's; where, by their daily Excursions they kept all the Country thereabouts in awe; which he not only block'd up, but also defeated part of the Earl of Newcastle's Army which came to relieve them. I shall not need to particularize all his Actions, his other intervening Atchievements are innumerable. To look forwards, only to mention the Battle of *Marston Moor*, where by his Valour he turn'd the Scales of Victory, which at the first inclined to the King's Side: As also, at that fatal Fight at *Naseby*, where the King's Foot were all cut in Pieces, or taken Prisoners: His memorable Discomfiture of the King's Forces at *Preston*, in *Lancashire*, over Duke *Hamilton* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; the last of them as valiantly faithful to the King, as the other was disloyal: Their united Forces amounting to Twenty five thousand, his not above Ten thousand at most; (altho' indeed he found little Opposition, save only of those few Forces of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who fought it out courageously to the last Man.) Should I thus continue to signalize his Trophies, I might tire out the Reader with his strange Successes; let it suffice then, that his Actions, with such Fame, arrived at the House, that in Recompence, they

they first bestowed on him the Generalship of the Horse, and afterwards the Lieutenant Generalship of the whole Army. Certainly if his Ambition had terminated here, and his wonderful Successes had not raised his Thoughts higher; if he could not, for his Martial Merits, have been beloved, he had Power enough to have render'd himself safe, and for his valiant Atchievements, fear'd, honour'd and admir'd.

Raised to this Degree of Command, he was more careful of hazarding his Person than before; well knowing the Loss of a General is the most irreparable of all Losses; for him to expose his Person to trivial Hazards, in the Breath of whose Nostrils the victorious Atchievements of the Soldiers remains, is too impertinently adventurous, as if it were more glorious to fight than command: Whereas, that is more especially the Virtue of a common Soldier: This other of a Leader, whose principal Talent lies more in Direction than Execution; more in the Brain than Hand: Thus that ever to be deplored Laureat of our Times, the Gentleman of the long Robe, the Oracle of the King's Counsels, the Lord *Faukland*, was as unfortunately

ly

ly lost, as unnecessarily engaged in the Field.

But to proceed, he grew so subtilly careful, as to maintain a fair Correspondence; there was no Place taken; no Battle won, but he was the first that brought or sent Word to the House; by which he insinuated himself into the Affections both of the Parliament and People; expressing his own Actions in such Terms, as whilst he seemingly attributed much to others, he drew the whole Commendation thereof to himself.

One Thing that made his Brigade so invincible, was his arming them so well, as whilst they assured themselves they could not be overcome, it assured him to overcome their Enemies. He himself, as they call'd him *Ironside*, needed not to be ashamed of a Nick-name that so often saved his Life.

These were his Acts whilst Lieutenant General, by which he got so great a Name in War, as *Essex*, *Waller*, and those other great Names before him, excepting only Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Laurels, which were interwoven with his, the rest were swallowed up in his most inimitable Successes, even as great Rivers are swallowed up by the Ocean.

For the rest of his Actions when he was General ; his conquering *Ireland* ; his subduing *Scotland* ; the many other Battles he fought till his finishing the War in *England*. To treat also largely of these his Trophies, would weary the Pen of a serious, though industrious Writer, that faithfully concerns the Incivility of those late Civil War, howsoever they were strange successes, and so many, that as a Modern Poet agrees with what I have expressed ;

— It were a Work so great,
Would make Olympus bearing Atlas sweat.

I shall therefore summarily relate the most notable Occurrences then happening, leaving the less Affairs to be related by more voluminous Authors.

No sooner were the Civil Wars of *England* terminated, by the Discomfiture of all the King's Armies ; the taking of his own Person, and putting him to Death, but the Parliament, by a solemn Vote and Ordinance, changed the Monarchial Government, into a Commonwealth. The Kingdom of *Ireland*, discontented at this Change, uniting themselves, owned the late King's eldest Son, and solemnly proclaimed him King ; no Place considerable standing out for the Parliament, saving only *Dublin* and *London-derry*, the first where-

of was immediately besieged by an Army of Twenty two thousand Men, commanded by the Marques of *Ormond*; and the other by a considerable Party of the Natives of the Country. To the reducing of this Kingdom was *Oliver Cromwell* nominated *Gouvernour of Ireland* by the Commonwealth; who, with a well apointed Army set sail for *Dublin*: Where, although he found Things in an indifferent good Posture, the Marques of *Ormond* having been beaten off, by the Valour of *Michael Jones* the Gouvernour, yet he met with Work enough for his Army: For *Droghedah*, one of the best and considerabkst Places in all *Ireland*, held out stify against them,

~~ong~~ Party, bid Defiance to his Army: Yet notwithstanding, after many Assaults, and much Valour shewn on both Sides, he at last took it, putting thereinto death 3000 *Irish*; who, tho' Enemies, yet for their Valour and undaunted Resolution, might have been look'd on with a more merciful Eye, as they were Men, and more especially Christians. Soon after followed the Surrender of *Trim*, *Dundalke*, *Nury*, *Wexford*, *Rove*, *Bandonbridge*, and *Kingsale*; yet notwithstanding the reducing of these Towns, many of the *Irish* retreating to their Bogs and inacceſſible Places;

Places, held out for a long Time, in despite of the English.

To proceed, not only the *Irish* shew'd their Dislike of this Change of Government, but also the Colonies in *Virginia*, and the *Carybde Islands*; to the reducing of whom the Parliament sent Sir *George Askue*, with a Fleet of Ships, who brought them again into Obedience.

In the mean Time the *Scots* were very busie, they had commenced a Treaty with Prince *Charles* at *Breda*, which at last was concluded on, he assenting to their Presbyterian Government; and they to instal and re-establish him in that Kingdom, and in the other accordingly, as they questioned not but Fortune would answer their blind zealous Covenant Expectations.

The Prince puts forth to Sea, and in despite of foul Weather, and the *English* King Fishers that lay there to intercept him, he landed safely at the *Spey*. in the North of *Scotland*. Now, tho' the *Scots* had a King, yet (as if they had none) every one did that which is right in his own Eyes; and, as if they intended him only the Title, being now in their Power, they forced him to follow the Rules of their haughty Clergy, in all their fanatick Humours and imperious Decrees. Fifth.

then, they bereaved him of all his old Friends, Counsellors, and Confederates, whether of the Clergy or Laity, as those who adhered to Episcopal Government, and so not pure enough for so reform'd a People. Thus they hamstrung him, not as what was formerly in the Sign-post, only of printed Papers. Next, they make him take the *Solemn League and Covenant*, that strange Fire which the *Scots* believe descended from Heaven, and by which they, at their Pleasures, kindle those Wars wherewith they infest *England*: Then these Horse Farriers of the Conscience gave him another Drench, he is taught to *Renounce the Sins of his Father's House, and of his own, the Idolatry of his Mother, by a constant adhering to the Cause of God, according to the Covenant, in the firm Establishment of Church Government, as it is laid down in the Directory for publick Worship, Confession of Faith and Catechisin.* These, with divers others of the like Nature, they wrought so on his Necessity, they obtruded, or rather rammed into his Conscience (although with much Reluctancy) he signed to, making many strange Faces at these bitter Pills he swallowed, yet it better'd not his Condition, which was like that of a Child under Tutors and Governors; there was not

an Officer in that Kirk or Commonwealth how vile and abject soever, in Place or Person, but enjoyed more Freedom both in Body and Mind, than he. Guarded indeed he was, but no otherwise than he was surrounded with the *Ignis Fatuus* of their zealous Suspicions of him, so that move he must not but in the Sphere of the Kirk, their *Primum mobile*; whereby 'tis apparent, that the Government of that Nation might be almost question'd whether it ever were truly Monarchial (tho' they had Kings.)

To proceed, the Parliament having notice of all their Proceedings, recalled General Cromwel out of *Ireland*, making him *Generalissimo* of the Commonwealths Armies, in the Lord Fairfax's Stead, who at the same Time laid down his Commission; he, with a choice Army, marches into *Scotland*, and after many petty Defeats, gives them a great Overthrow at *Dumbar*, September 3, 1650, and prosecuting his Victory, takes *Leith*, a very considerable and advantageous Place; as also *Edinburgh*, the Metropolitan City of all *Scotland*. Thus he set firm there his Sword, hewing his Way for him to conquer that Country, which the King lost by his Pen.

Now were the *Scots* truly miserable, for

besides a raging Enemy in the very Heart of their Kingdom, they were divided among themselves, even to the killing and slaying of one another; one Party in the North was for the King without the Kirk; another Party in the West, was for the Kirk without the King; a third Party was for the King and Kirk. Yet notwithstanding these Losses and Divisions, they assumed new Courage, levied more Men, and crowned their King with the utmost Magnificence, as the Indigency and Necessity of their Affairs would admit. The English, on the other Side, being resolved to terminate this War with Scotland, passed over into Fife, and having defeated four thousand Scots, they soon became Masters of Inchigravy, Burntisland, and St. Johnstoun: Mean while the Scots Army, consisting of 16000 abandoned their own Territories, and, by the Way of Carlisle, entered England. General Cromwel advertised hereof, leaves Colonel Monk with 7000 Men in Scotland, to perfet the Conquest of that Kingdom, and with the rest of the Army pursues the Scots; who, wheresoever they came, proclaimed their King, to be King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. But few stirred unto their Aid, among others, the unfortunate Earl of

Darby,

Darby, who having assembled 1200 Men, in Lancashire, was defeated by Colonel *Lilburn*, and to save himself was constrained to flee to Worcester; where the Scots, after a long and tedious March, had pitch'd their Camp, whither General *Cromwel* soon pursued; and having the Aid of the Train Bands of several Counties, gave them Battle, which proved fatal unto the *Scots*, their whole Army being overthrown. The King in a Disguise escaped into France, not without much Difficulty and Danger, the Parliament having promised five hundred Pounds to any one that could discover his Person. Such a List of Prisoners as were then taken, we shall seldom meet with in any Battle but *Cromwel's*, the Earl of Darby, the Earl of Lauderdale, Duke *Hamilton*, General of the *Scots* Army, who afterwards died of his Wounds, the Earl of Rothes, the Earl of Cornwarrh, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Peckington, Cunningham, and Clare, Knights; the Lord Spine, and Sincleare, the Earl of Cleveland, of Kelley, and Colonel *Greaves*, six Colonels of Horse, thirteen of Foot, nine Lieutenant Colonels of Horse, eight of Foot, six Majors of Horse, thirteen of Foot, seven and thirty Captains of Horse, seventy three of Foot, fifth five Quarter-masters, eighty nine

Lieu-

Lieutenants of Foot, Major General *Biscotzy*, Major General *Montgomery*, the Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, the Adjutant General of the Foot, the Marshal General, the Quartermaster General, the Conductor General of the Baggage, seventy six Standards, ninety nine Ensigns; all which were hung up in *Westminster Hall*, for successive Parliaments, to understand what Vigour of Spirits, they, by their Influence, can infuse into those they please to authorize, only the Want of the Allay of their Ambitions, often works them high, where it is impossible to set limits to generous Minds. To continue the other Appendixes to this Victory, there were also taken nine Ministers, nine Chirurgeons, One hundred fifty and eight Colours, and all the Cannon and Baggage generally, the Royal Standard, the King's Coach and Horses, the Royal Robe, the Collar of the Order of the Garter, thirty of his domestick Servants, and that admirable Poet, his Secretary, *Fanshaw*. Several other Persons were also afterwards taken in the remotest Countries, as Major General *Maffey* (who being committed to the Tower, afterwards made his Escape) Major General *Middleton*, Lieutenant General *David Lesty*, insomuch as that it may be

be said, the Gleanings of this Victory, were as considerable as the whole Harvest itself. Many of the common Soldiers were transported into *Barbadoes*, and other Plantations; this Mercy extended to them in saving their Lives, causing much Gain to accrue thereby unto the Commonwealth, in selling the poor heathenish Highlanders to the Plantations. I shall end these sad Transactions with what Mr. Wharton chronologized in these Words, *Since England's Hogs eat our dear Brethren up.* He only reflects on the half Graves were made for them in *Tuttle Fields*.

Of all this long List two only suffer'd Death, viz. Sir Timothy Featherstone Knight, and the Earl of Darby, who, on the 15th of October following, was beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, being conducted thither by sixty Foot, and eighty Horse, about two of the Clock he was brought forth to the Scaffold, which was built at the Crofs, part of it with the Timber of his own House at *Latham*, there was not above an hundred Lookers on, besides Soldiers; presently after his coming upon the Scaffold there happen'd a great Tumult. (the Occasion whereof was not certainly known) in appeasing of which there were some cut, many hurt, and one Child killed. The Earl

Earl was no eloquent Orator, and the Tumult put him out of his speaking what he intended: At last, after some Silence made, he began as followeth.

Since it hath pleased God, by this untimely Death to shorten my Days, I am glad it is in this Town, where some have been made believe I was a cruel Person, that I might vindicate myself from this Aspersion: It was my Desire, the last Time I came into this Country, to come hither, as to a People that ought to serve the King, as I conceive, upon good Grounds: It was said, that I was accustomed to be a Man of Blood; but it doth not lie upon my Conscience, I was wrongfully bely'd. I thank God I desir'd Peace. I was born in Honour, and I shall die Honourably, as I suffer for my Sovereign. I had a fair Estate, good Friends, and was respected, and do respect: Those that were ready to do for me, I was ready to do for them. I have done nothing, but as my generous Predecessors acted, to do you good. It was the King that called me in, and I thought it my Duty to wait upon his Highness, to do him Service.

Here he was disturb'd by the Noise of the People, after some Pause he said, I intended to have express'd my self further, but I have said. I have not much more to say to you, but as to my Good-will to this Town of Bolton,

Bolton, I can say no more, but the Lord bless you. I forgive you all, and desire to be forgiven of you all, for I put my Trust in Christ Jesus. Looking about him he said, I did never deserve this hard Measure. Honest Friends, (you that are Soldiers) my Life is taken away, after Quarter given, by a Council of War, which was never done before. Walking up and down the Scaffold he said, The Lord bless you all, the Son of God bless you all of this Town of Bolton, Manchaster, Lancashire, and the rest of the Kingdom; and God send that you may have a King again, and Laws. I die like a Christian, and a Soldier, God and my Sovereign's Soldier. Causing his Coffin to be opened, he said, I hope when I'm imprison'd here, armed Men shall not need to watch me. Looking upon them that were upon the Scaffold, he said, What do you stay for? it is hard that I cannot get a Block to have my Head cut off. Speaking to the Executioner, he said, Thy Coat is so troublesome and cumbersome, that I believe that thou canst not het right, the Lord help thee and forgive thee. Other Words he used, which to avoid Proxillty I willingly omit. At last submitting his Neck to the Block, he had his Head severed from his Body with one Blow; his sorrowful Son, who was a sad Spectator of this woful Tragedy, out

of a pious care, and filial duty, conveyed his Corps back with him that Night to Wiggan, and afterwards gave them honourable Burial.

Not long before at London was Colonel *Eusebius Andrews* apprehended, who having formerly practiced the Law, changed his Gown into a Coat of Armour, having received a Commission from the King of Scots, for the raising Men in England, he was tryed in *Westminster Hall*, at the High Court of Justice, then again newly erected, being the first unfortunate Gentleman that hanstelled the Court. He was condemned, and the 22. of *August*, 1650. brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, where he exprefsed himself to the People in these his last Words.

Christian Gentlemen and People, your Business hither to Day is to see a sad Spectacle, a Man to be in a Moment unman'd, and cut off in the prime of his Years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either to himself, his Friends, the Common-wealth, or more especially as to my continued services to my Creator. Truly, if my general known Course of Life were but enquired into, I may modestly say, there is such a moral Honesty upon it, as some may be so sawcy as to expostulate why this great Judgement is fallen upon me; but know I am able

to

to give them and my self an answer, and out of this Breast am able to give a better Accompt of my Judgement and Execution then my Judges themselves, or you are able to give : It is Gods wrath upon me for Sins long unrepented of, many Judgements withheld, and Mercies slighted ; therefore God hath whipped me by his severe Rod of Correction, that he might not lose me. I pray join with me in Prayer, that it may not be a fruitless Rod, that when by this Rod I have laid down my Life, by his Staff I may be comforted, and received into Glory. I am very confident by what I have heard since my Sentence there is more exceptions made against proceedings against me, then I ever made. My Triers had a Law, and the value of that Law is undisputable ; and for me to make a question of it, I should shame my self and my Discretion. In the strictness of that Law, something is done by me, that is applicable to some clause therein, by which I stand condemnable. The means whereby I was brought under that Interpretation of that which was not in my self intended maliciously, there being Testimony given, (by Persons whom I pity) so false, yet so positive, that I cannot condemn my Judges, for passing sentence against me, according to Legal Justice, though Equity lieth in the higher Precepts.

As for my Accusers, or rather Betrayers, I
pity, and am sorry for them; they have committed
Judas's Crime, but I wish and pray for
them with Peter's Tears, that by Peter's Repen-
tance they may escape Judas's Punishment; and
I wish other People so happy, they may be taken
up betimes, before they have drunk more Blood
of Christian Men, possibly less deserving than
my self.

It is true, there have been several Addresses
made for Mercy, and I will put the Obstruction
of it upon nothing more than my own Sin; and
seeing God sees it fit, (having not glorified him
in my Life) I might do it in my Death, which
I am contented to do; I profess in the fear of
God, particular Malice to any one of State or
Parliament, to do them a bodily Injury I had
none.

For the cause in which I had long waded,
must needs say, my engagement or continuance
in it hath laid no scruple upon my Conscience;
it was on Principles of Law, the Knowledge
whereof I profess, and on Principles of Religion,
my Judgement satisfied, and Conscience rectifi-
ed, that I have pursued those ways which I bless
God I find no blackness upon my Conscience, nor
have I put it into the Bed-roll of my Sins.

I will not presume to decide controversies;
desire God to honour himself in prospering the
side that hath right with it, and that you may
enjoy

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enjoy Peace and Plenty, beyond all you possess
here. In my Conversation in the World, I do
not know where I have an Enemy with cause, or
that there is such a Person whom I have to re-
gret ; but if there be any whom I cannot recol-
lect, under the notion of christian Men, I pardon
them as freely as if I had named them by name,
I freely forgive them, being in free Peace with
all the World, as I desire God for Christ's sake,
to be at Peace with me. For the business of
Death it is a sad Sentence in it self, if Men
consult with Flesh and Blood : But truly with-
out boasting, I say it, or if I do boast, I boast
in the Lord, I have not to this minute had one
consultation with the Flesh about the blow of
the Axe, more then as my passport to Glory.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulness to those under whose Power I am, that they sent me hither to a place, however of Punishment, yet of some Honour, to die a death somewhat worthy of my Blood, answerable to my Birth and Qualification, and this courtesie of theirs much helped towards the pacification of my Mind.

I shall desire God that those Gentlemen in
that sad Bed-roll to be tryed by the High Court
of Justice, that they may find that really there,
that is nominal in the Act, an High Court of
Justice, a Court of High Justice, high in its
Righteousness, though not in its severity. Father
forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.

I desire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the Hour of my Death, not till the Moment of my Death, for the Hour is come already, the instant of Time approaches, that as I have a great load of Sins, so I may have the wings of your Prayers, to help those Angels that are to convey my Soul to Heaven; and I doubt not but I shall see my Saviour, and my gallant Master the King of England, and another Master whom I much honoured, my Lord Capel, hoping this Day to see my Christ in the presence of the Father, the King in the presence of him, my Lord Capel in the presence of them all; and my self there to rejoice with all other Saints and Angels forevermore.

After the uttering of these and many the like Words, declaring his Faith and Confidence in God, with as much undaunted, yet Christian Courage, as possibly could be in Man, he exposed his Neck to the fatal Ax, commanding his Soul into the Hands of a faithful and merciful Creator, thro' the meritorious Passion of a gracious Redeemer; and having said *Lord Jesus receive me* the Executioner with one Blow severed his Head from his Body.

For such a collateral design, not long after one Master Benson was executed at Tyburn, one that had some Relations to Sir

John

John Gell, who was tried for the same Conspiracy, with his Man : Sir *John's* former Services to the Parliament, being his best and most assured Intercessors for his Life, and at that time were more then ordinary Advantages to him.

I shall in the next place give you an account of the Beheading of Sir *Henry Hide*. He was by the Scots King commissionated as Ambassador to the Grand Signior at *Constantinople*, and stood in Competition with Sir *Thomas Bendish* (then Ambassador for the English) for his Place; whereupon they had a Hearing before the *Vizier Bassa*; the result whereof was, that Sir *Thomas Bendish* should dispose of the said Sir *Henry Hide*, as he thought good; who was to the same purpose sent to *Smyrna*, thence into *England*, and there condemned and executed before the *Royal Exchange* in *London*, March 4. 1650.

His last Words were to this Effect.

*Christian People, I come hither to die, I
am brought hither to die; and that
I may die Christian like, I humbly beseech
the assistance of your Christian Prayers,
that by the benefit of them my passage
may be the more easie : Yet because Men
in that condition, which it hath pleased*

‘ God to reduce me to, give the more credit
‘ to Speech ; in the discharge of my Duty
‘ towards God, I shall use a few Words and
‘ so conclude.

‘ I pray all of you join with me to praise
‘ this Almighty God, to whom I desire to
‘ render all hearty Thanks ; as for all his
‘ Mercies, so in particular for this, that he
‘ hath brought me hither ; that whereas I
‘ owe a Debt to Sin and to Nature,
‘ that now I can pay the Debt to Nature, I
‘ can pay it upon the account of Grace.
‘ And because it is fit to render the blessed
‘ account of that hope that is in me, I shall
‘ tell you, to the praise of Almighty God,
‘ that I have been born and bred up in the
‘ Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have
‘ no negative Religion, believing to be saved
‘ by the only merits of my Saviour *Jesus*
‘ *Christ*, and whatsoever else is profest in
‘ the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church
‘ of *England*, authorized by Law ; humbly
‘ beseeching Almighty God to restore unto
‘ this Church her Peace, Prosperity and
‘ Patrimony, whereof I have an Obedient
‘ and a Loving (however an unworthy)
‘ Son ; and now both my Hope being consi-
‘ dent, and my Faith perfected, there re-
‘ mains only Christian Charity ; Charity
‘ we carry into Heaven, Charity on Earth,

‘ that

that I leave, beseeching all whomsoever
I have offended to forgive me, as I from
the bottom of my Heart do all whomso-
ever ; blessing Almighty God for the hap-
py advantage he takes to bring me the
sooner to Heaven ; I bless Almighty God
that he hath given me this Advantage, as
he hath been Merciful to me before the
Foundation of the World, in my Savi-
our, so that now he hath in Mercy ha-
noured me, with a suffering for his Name,
in Obedience to his Commandment.

On this Day sevennight I was summoned
before that Justice, which condemned
me on *Friday* last, praised be Almighty
God, that by this way he hath brought
me nearer to himself. My charge I pre-
sume is publick, as my Punishment is vi-
sible ; if there have been any thing in the
management of my part, being unskilful,
having discontinued my own Country
many Years, I shall beseech the Christian
Charity of all you my beloved Country-
men, to impute it rightly to the Ignorance
of my unskilful ways of managing of af-
fairs ; it was objected unto me there, that
I had a vanity of delighting in strange
Tongues ; I do acknowledge that I was
best skilled in the *Italian*, (but free from
that vanity, I thank Almighty God) and
therefore

‘ therefore I would in defence of my Life,
‘ (if it had been the custom here, or the
‘ Judges favour) have used that Language,
‘ which was almost as natural to me as my
‘ Mother Tongue.

‘ It was objected, that I did not so freely
‘ as a thorow-paced Cavalier, own my
‘ Master : I was told since I came into
‘ England (this Skill I have in our Laws)
‘ that a legal denial in Law might be tolle-
‘ rable ; I hope I did not exceed the bounds
‘ of that in any thing, for God forbid that
‘ I should be ashamed of serving so pious a
‘ Master ; (*putting off his Hat*) for this I re-
‘ joice, and I humbly beseech Almighty
‘ God to fill my Heart and my Tongue, and
‘ all that hear me this Day, with thankful-
‘ ness for it.

‘ As to the Busines, that another con-
‘ struction had been made and believ'd here,
‘ then what was there, the righteous God
‘ knoweth it ; if any weakness were in the
‘ management, that was mine. I was sent
‘ to serve and protect, not to injure any, as
‘ God acquits me of the Intention of matter
‘ of Fact, as having not done any manner of
‘ Evil that way, however here understood,
‘ blessed be his holy Name (again putting
‘ off his Hat) so those Gentlemen of the
‘ Turkey Company, if they would might
‘ acknowledge,

3 *The Life of Oliver Cromwel.*

acknowledg'd, for they know it very well, the impossibility of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embassy objected against me, that my Master honoured me with it, though I was never worthy of it ; I was his Messenger and *Internuntio* for the conservation only of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, until such time as he could confirm that Gentlemen now Resident, or to send any other ; and they themselves know that there was an unpossibility (as I bless God there was an innocency in me) unto any such Intention to do them harm ; for my Masters commands were point blank the contrary : I was only sent for their good ; as I never owned the Title so the very Letters themselves speaking no other : I never did so much as think of any manner of address to the grand Signior, but gave him the Letter from my Master ; the rest of the English Nation that were there present, may, when they please, assert so much. This I would insert, that those Gentlemen as they have been Losers by the miscarriages of others, may now have a breach of their Charity with me ; but if it be, as it seems it is now in this Country, a Sin to be Loyal, I hope my God hath
‘ forgiven

‘ Forgiven that, when it is upon harmless
‘ Employment, not invading any, accord-
‘ ing to my just Masters order ; for indeed
‘ I have been always bred up in the Reli-
‘ on of Loyalty, my Allegiance hath been
‘ incorporated into my Religion, and I have
‘ thought it a great part of the service due
‘ from me to Almighty God, to serve the
‘ King (again putting off his Hat.) He said,
‘ I need not make any Apology for any
‘ thing in relation to the present Affairs in
‘ England, for were I (as I spake before my
‘ Judges) were I as evil as my Sentence
‘ here hath made black, it were impossible
‘ for me to have prejudiced any body in
‘ England, or to *England* belonging, in that
‘ Employment ; But I bless God for his
‘ infinite Mercy in *Jesus Christ*, who hath
‘ taken me to himself by this manner of
‘ way, it was the best Physick for the cu-
‘ ring of my Soul, and those that have done
‘ it, have no more Power than that of my
‘ Body ; I leave nothing behind me, but
‘ that I am willing to part withal ; all that I
‘ am going to, is desirable ; and that you
‘ may all know that Almighty God hath
‘ wrought in me a total denial of my self,
‘ and that there is that perfect reformation
‘ of me within, of my own Corruptions, by
‘ the blessed Assistance of his Holy Spirit ;

I desire Almighty God in the Abundance
of the Bowels of his Mercy in Jesus
Christ, not only to forgive every Enemy,
(if any such be in the World, here or
wheresoever) but to bring him into his
Bosom, so much good and particular
Comfort, as he may at any time, whether
the Cause were just or unjust, have wish-
ed me any manner of Evil; for I take
him to be the happy Instrument of bring-
ing me to Heaven. I am tedious, but I
have an inward comfort, I bless Almighty
God: (pray Gentlemen give leave, speak-
ing to some that prest upon him) I should
never do it but to give satisfaction to all
charitable Hearts. I have been trouble-
some.

Here he made a Pause, as discontented
at the disturbance of those on the Scaffold,
when the Sheriff said to him, *Sir, you have*
your Liberty to speak more if you please, at
length he proceeded.

‘ But as to that part, Mr. Sheriff, that
did concern the denial (as it was affirm-
ed by Master Attorney General) of my
Masters Employment; truly, landing at
White Hall, I told that Council, there
was warrantable Commissions to an old
Officer, which by the Blessing of God, I
have by me, and I have other acceptable

things that God hath blessed me withal
we that are Merchants abroad, we allow
our selves any sufferance that may induc
to our own safety, Inlargement of Trade
or Preservation of what is ours. Why
had by the favour of my gracious Master
a confirmation of my old Commission
Consulage in Greece, but as to the Embassie
no more then my credential Letters do
speak, nor no more then that I attempted
an *Internucio* they call it in those places
which is a Messenger between the one and
the other King, they both unhappily di
ed of several Deaths, and both violence
too; and it is a custom not unknown
you, Master Sheriff, and other Gentlemen
that practise in the World, that Prince
of course, for the continuation of Ambition
do send Messengers where there is Pend
that the transaction of those publick ex
pressions of reciprocal affections may be
performed; but for Embassie, God for
bid I should own it, I never had it, how
ever they have used it as the happy mean
to bring me to God this Day, whom
in the Bowels of my Saviour beseech
forgive those People that have done it;
owe them no harm, God return better
things into their Bosoms with all the
good of this, and an everlasting Life.

' As for my part, I have been long absent, I have meddled with no Affairs in England; sufficient to me is God's grace to the Salvation of my Soul.

' I have been always fearful of offending God, according to the Grace he hath given me; but to learn a new Religion, or new ways, (that I must say Mr. Sheriff to you, and all others that hear me) I could never dispence with my Conscience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it may be with your Commission Master Sheriff) to pour out my Soul to Almighty God in two or three Words (the place is straitned) if I knew wherein to give any satisfaction to any Person whatsoever that imagines I have offended him, or he me, I am here in the fear of God to do it. I forgive them with all my Soul, and my forgiveness is clear, as I am now going to receive Happiness at the Hand of my Saviour; if I thought it were satisfaction to Sir Thomas Bendish, and all the Company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come, Master Sheriff, to pay that Debt I owe to nature, to pay it upon the Score of a Loyal Subject; my Conscience within me informing me, that for the intentions of serving my Prince, I could not deserve such a

• Death, though ten thousand times more
• other ways.

Having expressed himself to this effect with much meekness, he submitted his Neck to the Ax, having first said, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul*, the Executioner at one blow severed his Head from his Body.

Not long after *Brown Bushel* was beheaded under the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, one who had formerly done great service to the Royal Party both by Sea and Land; crimes of such a Nature, as brought him into compass of Piracy, and then of high Treason.

Soon after ensuing the Deaths of Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Gibbons*, who were beheaded on *Tower-hill* the 22. of *August*, 1651. Their Crimes objected, were, for combining with the Scots to re-establish *Charles Stuart*. many others were apprehended upon the same Account, but these two only suffered.

Passing over these Golgotha's, the Reader may be pleas'd to understand, that all these Persons here mentioned, (save only the Earl of *Darby*) suffered Death before that memorable Battle at *Worcester*, though in our History we have related them after as not willing to discontinue the series of our affairs with *Scotland* by such diversions.

But

But to return to matters of more publick concernment, the Isles of Jersey, Jernsey and Man, who had hitherto held for the King, submitted themselves; so that now all seemed quiet, when suddenly a War brake forth with. Holland, began only at first upon points of Honour at Sea, Van Trump the Dutch Admiral refusing to vail his Flag, a Ceremonial Honour which the English appropriate to themselves, as being Lords of these narrow Seas, whereupon a sharp Fight ensued betwixt them, wherein the Dutch were discomfited, one of their Ships sunk, and another of thirty Guns taken, with the Captains of both, and about a hundred and fifty Prisoners.

This Skirmish produced open War betwixt the two Nations, notwithstanding Overtures of Peace made by the Hollander. General Blake, the English Admiral, surprises twelve Dutch Men of War towards the Isles of Orkney, Sir George Aſcue in the Road betwixt Dover and Calice, sets upon their Fleet, being thirty in Number, of which ten were taken and burnt, the rest hardly escaping. Soon after near Plymouth he gave them another Fight, wherein the Dutch went again by the worst. These successes were seconded by others very remarkable, General Blake steering Northwards,

wards, took six Holland Ships of a great Value about the *Dowmes*. Captain Penne also took six more upon the Coast of *France*.

Soon after, the Navies engaged in another Fight at a place called the *Kentish Knock*, wherein the Dutch were again defeated, eleven of their Men of War set upon four of the English in the *Straights*, took the *Phenix Frigot*, and much damaged the other. In a short space after, another Sea Engagement ensued on the Back-side of *Goodwin Sands*, wherein the English were worsted, four Ships taken, and a considerable Loss of Men. The greatest Fight of all was near the *Isle of Wight* and *Portland*, wherein the Dutch received a great Overthrow, fifty Merchants being taken, nine Men of War, above two thousand slain, and fifteen hundred taken Prisoners. But this great Victory soon after received a check, the English Fleet in the Levant Seas being again worsted by the Dutch, with the Loss of divers Ships and Men.

But leaving off these Affairs for a time, let us come to General *Cromwel*; who pretending for the better accomplishing of his own Designs, the dialtory proceedings, pernicious and arbitrary actings in the Parliament, to perpetuate their Session, to be very dangerous, and enthrall the Nation;

this

this train of his he knew would take well with the People ; he therefore resolved to put a Period to the Parliament, and accordingly accompanied by the chief Officers of the Army, he entered the House, and having declared his Intentions, some by force, some through fear, and others not without a great deal of reluctance and murmuring, departed the House. To set a fair gloss upon what he had done, and to give some satisfaction to the People, he publishes a Declaration, the substance whereof followeth.

' That after God was pleased marvelously to appear for his People, in reducing Ireland and Scotland to so great a Peace, and England to perfect quiet ; whereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the People the Harvest of all their Labour, Blood, and Treasure ; and to settle a due Liberty in reference to Civil and Spiritual things ; whereunto they were obliged by their Duty, Engagements, and those great and wonderful things God hath wrought for them. But they made so little Progress therein, that it was matter of much Grief to the good People of the Land ; who thereupon applied themselves to the Army, expecting redress by their means, who (though unwilling to meddle

meddle with the Civil Authority,) agreed, that such Officers as were Members of Parliament should move them to proceed vigorously, in reforming what was amiss in the Common-wealth, and in settling it upon a foundation of Justice and Righteousness : which being done, it was hoped the Parliament would have answered their expectations.

‘ But finding the contrary, they renewed their desires by an humble Petition in *August, 1652,* which produced no considerable effects, nor was any such Progress made therein, as might imply their real Intentions to accomplish what was petitioned for ; but rather an averseness to the things themselves, with much bitterness and opposition to the People of God, and his Spirit acting in them ; insomuch, that the Godly Party in Parliament were rendered of no further use, than to countenance the ends of a corrupt party, for effecting their desires of perpetuating themselves in the supream Government.

‘ For obviating these evils, the Officers of the Army obtained several meetings with some of the Parliament, to consider what remedy might be applied to prevent the same ; but such endeavours proving ineffectual, it became evident, that this

‘ Parliament,

Parliament, through the corruption of some, the jealousy of others non-attendance of many, would never answer those ends which God, his People, and the whole Nation expected from them : But that this cause which God had so greatly blessed, must needs languish under their Hands, and by degrees be lost ; and the Lives, Liberties, and Comforts of his People be delivered into their Enemies Hands.

All which being sadly and seriously considered by the honest People of the Nation, as well as by the Army, it seemed a Duty incumbent upon us, who had seen much of the power and presence of God, to consider of some effectual means whereby to establish Righteousness and Peace in these Nations.

And after much debate it was judged necessary, that the Supream Government should be by the Parliament devolved upon known Persons fearing God, and of approved integrity for a time, as the most hopeful way to countenance all God's People, reform the Law, and administer Justice impartially ; hoping thereby the People might forget Monarchy, and understand their true Interest in the election of successive Parliaments ; that so the Government

‘ vernment might be settled upon a right Basis, without hazard to this glorious caule, or necessitating to keep up Armies for the defence of the same.

‘ And being still resolved to use all means possibly to avoid extraordiany courses, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament, to give us a conference, with whom we plainly debated the necessity and justness of our Proposals : The which found no acceptance, but instead thereof it was offered, that the way was to continue still this Parliament, as being that from which we might probably expect all good things. This being vehemently insisted on, did much confirm us in our apprehensions : That not any love to a Representative, but the making use thereofto recruit, and so to perpetuate themselves, was their aim, in the Act they had then under consideration.

‘ For preventing the consumating whereof, and all the sad and evil consequences, which upon the grounds aforesaid must have ensued, and whereby at one Blow the interest of all honest Men and of this glorious Cause had been endangered to be laid in the dust, and these Nations embroyled in new Troubles, at a time when our Enemies abroad are watching all Advantages

vantages against, and some of them actually engaged in War with us; we have been necessitated (though with much reluctance) to put an end to this Parliament.

This Declaration was seconded by another for settling a Council of State, to give some Satisfaction to the People what Government they intended; which Declaration, for the Readers further Satisfaction, take as followeth.

Whereas the Parliament being dissolved, Persons of approved Fidelity and Honesty are (according to the late Declaration of the 22. of April last) to be called from the several parts of this Commonwealth to the Supream Authority; and although effectual proceedings are and have been had for perfecting those Resolutions, yet some convenient time being required for the assembling of those Persons, it hath been found necessary for preventing the mischiefs and inconveniencies which may arise in the mean while to the publick Affairs, that a Council of State be constituted, to take care of and intend the Peace, Safety, and present Management of the Affairs of this Commonwealth; which being settled accordingly, the same is hereby declared and published.

' to the end all Persons may take notice
' thereof, and in their several places and
' Stations, demean themselves peaceably,
' giving Obedience to the Laws of the Na-
' tion as heretofore ; in the exercise and
' administration thereof, as endeavours shall
' be used, that no oppression or wrong shall
' be done to the People, so a strict accompt
' will be required of all such as shall do
' any thing to endanger the Publick peace
' and quiet upon any pretence whatsoever.

April 30. 1653.

O. Cromwel.

These domestick revolutions put new Life into the Dutch, who hoping from these Distractions to reap a Victory over the English, with great confidence put forth again to Sea ; thinking upon nothing so much as Chapman for the English Fleet, saying ; *It was to be cried out by the sound of Trumpets and Horns.* But they were deceived in their expectation ; for coming to a Fight, on the North Foreland, near unto the South point of the *Gaber*, their Fleet was defeated, eleven Men of War, and two Water Hoyes being taken, besides six Captains and fifteen hundred Prisoners, and six Men of War which were sunk.

Not long after, to set the better face on his resolute proceedings, *Cromwel* calls another

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another Parliament convened at Westminster, who met July 4. 1653. to whom Generall Cromwel made a long Speech. Then he produced an Instrument under his own Hand and Seal, whereby the Supream Authority of the Nation was devolved upon them, unto whom all Persons were to yeild obedience and subjection. He delared that they were to sit no longer then the third of November 1654. and three months before their dissolution they were to make choice of others to succeed them, who were not to sit above twelve months, and then to take care for a succession in Government.

Now was the time come for the train to take the Dutch, having, as hath been expressed, cast the Urne of the present Affairs, being quite tired with their continual los-
ses, sent Commissioners over into England to treat of Peace. It hath been the result of the opinions of those that had their Eyes in their Heads, that the Dutch thought to have made up their Mouths, to have taken our Navy napping in the time of the Treaty the Fight happening betwixt them and us ; but they found it otherwise, their whole fleet was put to flight, their Admiral *Van Trump*, a Man of eminent valour being slain, about thirty Men of War sunk and fired, six Captains, and about a thousand

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Men taken Prisoners, and about six thousand slain. This great Victory did not little conduce to hasten the conclusion of the Peace, but on such terms as were at that time more honourable for his present Designs, than advantageous to the English Nation. For this service, gold Chains were presented to the Generals, *Blake*, *Munk*, *Penne*, and *Lawson*, and to the other Flag Captains; and silver Medals to the other Officers of the Fleet.

The Parliament having sat about as many Weeks as the other had done Year 7 they dissolved themselves, immediately making way for General *Cromwel*, by the dissolution, to be chosen Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland* to the and *Ireland*, and of all the Islands and Territories thereto belonging, December, 16, 1653. The Articles of the Government to which he signed are as followeth.

1. That his Excellency be chief Protector of the three Nations of *England*, *Scot-land*, and *Ireland*.
2. That he will call to his assistance Councillors, not under the Number thirteen, nor above twenty one.
3. That he shall not act without the advice of his Council.
4. Th

4. That there shall be every three Years
a Parliament called, freely chosen, to be
begin in September next, viz. four hundred,
and the Number for every County pro-
portionable.
5. That no Parliament shall adjourn till
they have sat above five Months.
6. When ever any Bill is passed in Parli-
ament, the Lord Protector shall have twen-
ty Days to advise with his Council; if he
sign it not in twenty Days, it shall pass
without, unless contrary to these Articles.
7. That no Parliament be dissolved by
the Protector, but end every three Years,
and the Protector to issue out Warrants.
8. All the Crown Revenues left, to go
to the maintenance of the Lord Protector.
9. To make Peace or War as he pleaseth,
with the advice of his Council, in the in-
interval of Parliaments; but not to raise Mo-
ney without the Parliament, unless in ex-
traordinary Causes.
10. Whatsoever goes out in the name of
the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*, to
go out in the Name of the Lord Protector.
11. That it is Treason to speak against
the present Government.
12. That all forfeited and confiscated
Estates go to the maintenance of the Lord
Protector.

13. That all Acts of Parliaments made, and Estates sold, stand good and be enjoyed.
14. That the Lord Protector have Power to confer titles of Honour, and to dispose of the great Places of Trust upon such persons as he shall chuse.
15. That in the interval of Parliaments the Lord Protector, with his Council, do order the Affairs of the Nation.
16. That all Articles of War be kept.
17. That the known Laws of the Commonwealth be continued.
18. That a standing Army be maintained of ten thousand Horse, and twenty thousand Foot.
19. That Christian Religion be maintained, such as is contained in the Word of God.
20. That all Persons shall have Liberty of Conscience, provided that they disturb not the Civil Government, except the Popish and Prelatical party.
21. That no Papist, or Delinquent in Arms since the Year 1649, elect, or be elected, a Parliament Man, under Penalty of forfeiture of one Years revenue, and the Moiety of his personal Estate.
22. That the Lord Protector have Power to pardon all Offenders, except Murderers.
23. That

23. That Writs be issued out in Full next for summoning the Parliament, either by the Protector, or in course.

24. That when the Protector dies, the Council then sitting shall summon all the Members of the Council, the Major part to elect one to be Protector before they stir out of the Council Chamber, and the Person so chosen, not to be under the age of twenty one Years, nor of the Family of the Stuarts.

These Articles sworn to, he was proclaimed Lord Protector in the *Palace-yard* at *Westminster*, and by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their Scarlet Gowns at the *Royal Exchange*; who to ingratiate themselves with their new Governour, bestowed on him a costly Feast at *Grocers Hall*; it is an usual observation that Persons that make their ways with their Swords, that their shows to take the People, generaly are more stately then those of successive Princes; what he admitted of, as with his own permission, was nothing to those dutiful solemnities that pursued his Memory; without dispute he had studied the art and ordinance of self-denying, insomuch that the Parliament perceiving that he did but complement his Generalship, which he might with safety and most right have ac-

cepted, they pressed him the less, as he seemed to push away that with his little finger that they were certain he was ready to grasp with both his Hands.

The greatest Admirations that hath surprized me, hath been what in the course of a Year I have observed, the Tides and Streams of Petitions out of most Countie that at the first rise or promise of greatness have pursued every alteration, as Party coloured as Joseph's Coat, and as variable as the Rainbow; it is not to depicted how Janus-faced they have been on all occasion with how many religious expressions and wishes they have made their Addresses and masqued their self-interests, if it were possible in so short an interim of time, at once adoring so many rising Suns.

Since I have so strangely disgraced, will not be amiss to take notice of a Book lately come forth, intituled, *History and Policy reviewed*, concerning the political transactions of the Protector, publish'd in strange name, written in the stile of the holy Court, in which, the Author undertakes a prodigious Enterprize, to compare *Cromwel* to *Moses*; his Pen is too palpably fraught with Flattery, yet not without unparalleled Subtilty; he having like the little Indian Gentleman, in the short Jacket pickt

pickt the Vermin out of Nic. Machiavels Head for his use; throwing off one side principles honester then his own; *Machiavel* never so disguising himself with the Wizard of Religion, that he appears to be an arranter Devil than the *Florentine*; certain I am, that I never read a Book that more pleased or displeased me.

But to proceed, at his first instalment, *Heavens bless us,* immediately follows a Plot, miraculously discovered, eleven of the grand Conspirators being apprehended, were committed to the Tower; where having remained a while, they were again set at Liberty. This web was not well spun, his Spies and Informers which he entertained at vast expence, put on their Spectacles that they might see better against the next occasion.

In the Interim, the Scots under the Earls of Glencarne and Kenmore, raised another Army of 4000 Horse and Foot, but were soon dissipated by the vigilancy of Colonel Morgan, who after a short but smart Fight, killed one hundred and fifty of them, and defeated all the rest. Suspicions are necessary Alarms, as they at least suffer persons not to be overtaken with too much security of their Affairs.

Another

Another great Plot was now again discovered ; the chief Conspirators were said to be Mr. Thomas and John Gerrard, Brothers, John Jones an Apothecary, and Thomas Tendor, Somerset Fox, and Master Peter Vowet ; who were all condemned, but two only suffered, viz. Mr. Vowet who was hanged. Also about the same time the Portugal Ambassadors Brother was brought to his Tryal for the pistoling of one Mr. Greenwood by a Knight of Malta, one of his high spirited followers ; the tumult being afterwards occasion'd from his retinue, he having been first very uncivilly treated by Mr. Gerrard in his expatiating of the New Exchange, as he termed it in his Declaration ; for which Mr. Gerrard received a prick with his Dagger, and afterwards had the honour to die the same Death. The young unfortunate Stranger suffered a very high favour to please the New Exchange Chevaliers.

Meantime the Scotch Highlanders impatient of bearing the English yoke, resolved to try the other bout ; to which purpose, they assembled together in great Numbers, having General Middleton to their Leader, who was newly come to them out of Holland, but all their endeavours vanished into Smoak, General Monk on the twentieth

July,

July, 1654, at a place called Loughberry, gave them such a charge as utterly defeated them, and made them incapable of ever after thinking of appearing in Arms again.

Soon after was a Parliament called, who no sooner were set, but fell upon questioning the Power by which they were convocated ; and doubting of its lawfulness were soon dissolved by the same Power which they distrusted. The Protector at the dissolution of this short Parliament, made a very long Speech, wherein amongst many other passages he hath this expression ; *This one thing I speak as thus advised, and before God, as having been to this Day of this Opinion, and this have been my constant Judgment, well known to many that hear me speak, if this one thing had been inserted, that one thing, that this Government should have been, and placed in my Family hereditary, I would have rejected it.* And a little after, *If this be of humane structure, and invention, and it be an old plotting and contrivance to bring things to this issue, and that they are not the births of Providence, then they will come to nothing.*

But notwithstanding his Speech was candle over with Scripture phrases, and great expressions of his zeal for the good Government of the Land ; yet these his Actings much

much discontented the common People, whereupon ensued risings in Shropshire, Montgomery, Nottinghamshire, Northumberland, and Yorkshire ; but the most considerable was at Salisbury, where Sir Joseph Wagstaff, Penruddock, and Jones, who had formerly been Officers in the late King's Army, having gotten together about 200 armed Men, entered Salisbury, seized on all the Inns and chief Houses ; and the Assizes being holden there at that time, they took away the Judges Commissions and Pattents, and all their Horses, and so marched away. Sir Henry Slingsby and Sir Richard Malloverer assembled some Forces also in Yorkshire ; but not being seconded according to their expectation, they dispers'd themselves on their own account. For these actings were put to Death Master Lucas, Thorp, Kensey, Graves, and Penruddock, Sir Henry Slingsby was taken and Imprisened, and afterwards beheaded upon another account, as I shall show you in its due place. About this time the great Head-piece of Europe joyns his Foxes Tail to our Lions Skin ; Correspondencies are held betwixt the French and us, which occasioning some Jealousies with some other bitter Pills that had before been swallowed, but not digested by the Spaniard, caused some Heart-burnings, which soon

soon broke forth into an open War, first managed by the Generals, *Pen* and *Vnables*, who on the 27. of December 1654, with a gallant Fleet set sail from *Portsmouth*, and on the 28 of January following, arrived at the *Barbadoes*, where they seized on 18 *Holland Merchant Men*, who contrary to the Ordinance of the long Parliament traffiqued in those Parts, from thence they sailed to *Hispaniola*, arriving near to the Port *Santa Domingo*, where by the deepness of Sands, and heat of the Climate being infinitely tired, they were by the Spaniards put to Flight, and enforced to march back again to their Ships ; from thence they set sail to the Island of *Jamaica*, which after a little resistance they mastered, and have since preserved, notwithstanding the Spaniards to regain the same, landed there with two or three thousand Men, but were discomfited with the Loss of all their Cannon and Baggage.

In the Interim General *Blake* with a considerable Fleet of Ships, having cast Anchor before *Tunis*, April, 18. 1655. sent unto the Dey of the Place, demanding satisfaction for some English Ships, which the Pyrates of those parts had carried away, and the Liberty of the English Slaves they had detained ; but his message and himself was refused

fused with scorn and derision, the Turks making this answer, *Bahold our Castles of Galleta, and our Castles and Vessels of Porto Ferino, do your worst against them, and do not think to brave us with the sight of your great Fleet.* This answer so exasperated the English Admiral, that notwithstanding there were one hundred and twenty Gun's planted on the Shore, and in the Castle against them ; yet regardless of all danger, he set upon their Men of War which lay in *Porto Ferino*, and in less then in four Hours space burnt all their Ships, being in number nine, to their very Keels, which enforced the King of Tunis to seek to the English for their friendship, and restored all the Prisoners for little or nothing.

These successes were seconded by two other great Victories obtained over the Spaniards at Sea ; the one by General Mountague about nine Leagues from Cadiz, where he destroyed six of their Ships, whereof two were taken, two run aground, one sunk, and another burnt, and therein the Marques of *Rader*, his Wife and Daughter ; the young Marques and his Brother, with a great deal of Wealth being taken, and brought into England. This Fight being incomparably related by the Laureat of our times, I thought fit to insert

it, not to deprive the Reader of so Elegant a Poem ; let him wave the poetical Flattery of it as he pleases.

Upon the present War with Spain, and the first Victory obtained at Sea.

Now for some Ages had the Pride of Spain,
Made the Sun shine on half th' world invain ;
While she bid War to to all that durst supply
The place of those, her Cruelty made dye.

Of Nature's Bounty Men forbear to taste,
And the best Portion of the Earth lay waste.
From the New World her Silver and her Gold,
Came like a Tempest, to confound the Old.
Feeding with these the bri'b'd Elector's Hopes,
She made at Pleasure Emperors and Popes :
With these, advancing her unjust Designs,
Europe was shaken with her Indian Mines.

When our Protector looking with disdain
Upon this gilded Majesty of Spain ;
And knowing well that Empire must decline,
Whose chief support, and sinews, are of Cyn
Our Nation's solid virtue, did oppose
To the rich Troublers of the World's repose.

And now some months encamping on the main,
Our Naval Army had besieged Spain.
They that the whole Worlds Monarchy designed,
Are to their Ports by our bold Fleet confin'd
from whence our Red Cross they triumphant see,

62 The Life of Oliver Cromwel.

Riding without a Rival on the Sea.

Others may use the Ocean as their road,
Only the English make it their abode :

Whose ready Sails with every Wind can fly,
And make a covenant with th' unconstant Sky,
Our Oaks secure, as if they there took root ;
We tread on Billows with a steady foot.

Mean while the Spaniards in America,
Near to the Line, the Sun approaching saw ;
And hop'd their European Coasts to find
Cleard from our Ships, by the Autumnal Wind.
Their huge capacious Gallions stuff with Plate,
The labouring Winds drives slowly towards
their Fate.

Before Saint Lucar they their Guns discharge,
To tell their Joy, or to invite a Barge,
This heard, some Ships of ours, tho' out of view,
As swift as Eagles to the Quarry flew.
So heedless Lambs which for th'ir Mothers bleat,
Wake hungry Lions and become their Meat.

Arriv'd, they soon begin that Tragick Play,
And with their smoaky Cannon banish Day.
Night, horrour, slaughter, with confusion meets
And in their sable Arms embrace the Fleets.
Through yielding Planks the angry Bullets fly,
And of one Wound hundreds together die.

Born under different Stars, one Fate they have
Thee Ship their Coffin, and the Sea their Grave.

Bald were the Men, which on the Ocean fly,
Spread their new Sails, shipwreck was the worst.

Mor

More danger now from Men alone we find,
Then from the Rocks, the Billows, or the Wind.
They that had sail'd from the Antartick Pole,
Their Treasure safe, and all their Vessels whole;
In sight of their dear Country ruin'd be,
Without the guilt of either Rock or Sea.

What they would spare, our fiercer Art destroys,
Excelling storms in terror and in noise.

Once Jove from Hyda did both Hulks survey,
And when he pleas'd to thunder, part the Fray :
Here Heaven in vain that kind retreat should
sound,

The louder Cannon had the Thunder drown'd.
Some we made Prize while others burnt and rent,
With their rich Lading to the bottom went.
Down sinks at once (so fortunate with us sports)
The Pay of Armies, and the Pride of Courts.

Vain Man, whose rage buries as low that store,
As Avarice had digg'd for it before.

What Earth in her dark Bowels could not keep,
From greedy hands, lies safer in the deep :
Where Thetis kindly doth from Mortals hide
Those seeds of Luxury Debate, and Pride,
And now into her lap the richest Prize
Fell, with the noblest of our Enemies.

The Marques's glad to see the Fire destroy
Wealth, that prevailing Foes were to enjoy :
Out from his flaming Ship his Children sent,
To perish in a milder Element.

Then laid him by his burning Ladies side,

64 The Life of Oliver Cromwe^r.

And since he could not save her, with her dy'd
Spices and Gums about them melting fry,
And Phenix-like, in that rich nest they die.
Death bitter is, for what we leave behind,
But taking with us, all we love, is kind,
What could be more then hold for term of Life,
His Indian Treasure, and his more priz'd Wife?
Alive, in Flames of equal love they burn'd,
And now together are to Ashes turn'd.
Ashes more worth then all their Funerals cost,
Then the huge Treasure which was with them lost.

These dying Lovers, and their floating Sons,
Suspend the Fight, and silence all our Guns.
Beauty and Youth, about to perish, finds
Such noble pity in brave English minds;
That the rich Spoil neglecting, and the Prize,
All labour now to save their Enemies.

How frail our passion's? how soon changed are
Our wrath and Fury to a friendly care?
They that but know to gain the Spanish Plate,
Made the Sea blush with Blood, forget their hate
And their young Foes, while sinking they retrieve
With greater danger then they fought they dive

With these returns Victorious Mountague,
With Laurel in his Hands; and half Perue.
Let the brave General divide that Baugh.
Our great Protector hath such Wreaths enough
His conquering head hath no more room for bay
Then let it be as the whole Nation prays:
Let the rich Oar forthwith be melted down,

And the State fixt, by making him a Crown :
With Ermins clad, and Purple ; let him hold
A Royal Scepter made of Spanish Gold.

About this time the blasphemies of many Sectaries in England were horrible ; particularly of one *James Nailor*, who under a seeming Sanctity, and pretended illuminations, vented most horrible blasphemies, for which he was cast into Excester Goal ; yet had this wretched Impostor so bewitched his followers to the committing of strange absurdities, that they ascribed to him Divine Honours, and gave him in Scripture phrase, the same titles which are applicable to none but Christ himself.

In a Letter of one *Richard Fairman* to him, are these horrid expressions, ‘ I am fil’d with joy and rejoicing when I behold thee in the eternal Unity. O my Soul is melting within me, when I behold thy Beauty and Innocency, dear and precious Son of Zion, whose Mother is a Virgin, and whose Birth is immortal. One of his *she Converts* writes of him thus, All the Wise Men shall seek for him, and when they have found him, they shall open their Ears, and shall give unto him of their Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh. The same Woman in another Letter to him proceeds thus. ‘ O thou fairest of ten thousand,

' thou only begotten Son of God, how my
' Heart panteth after thee ; O stay me
' with Flaggons, and comfort me with
' Wine ; my well-beloved thou art like a
' Roe, or young Hart, upon the Mountains
' of Spices. Then by way of Postscript her
Husband Thomas Stranger adds this. ' Thy
' Name is no more to be called James, but
' Jesus. Also a Maid named Dorcas Erbury,
being examined, declared, ' James Nailor
' to be the holy one of Israel, the only Son
' of God, and that she pulled off his Stock-
ings, and put her Cloaths under his Feet,
because he is the Holy Lord, of Israel, and
that she knew no other Saviour but him ;
affirming moreover, that the Spirit of the
Lord within her, commanded her to call
him Lord and Master, and to serve him.
That in Excester Goal he had raised her
from the Dead, after she had been dead
two Days, and that he should sit at the
Right Hand of the Father, and judge the
World.

Having seduced these silly Souls into
such damnable opinions, and gotten releas-
ment out of Excester Goal, he began imme-
diately to play his Pranks at divers Places
in the West ; particularly at Wells and Glas-
bury, thorow which Towns he rode on
Horseback, a Man going bare before him,
some

some walking a foot on each side of his Stirrup, and others strewing their Garments in the Way; from thence he took his Journey towards *Bristol*, and coming to a Village called *Bedminster*, about a Mile from *Bristol*, rid through it in the same presumptuous blasphemous manner, as he did before at *Wells* and *Glastenbury*. There accompanied him two Men, with each a Woman behind on Horseback, which alighted when they came to the Suburbs of *Bristol*, and footed it along on each side of *Naylor's* Horse, the Man still bare-headed leading the Horse, and all the Way they went, they sung, *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Israel*, and then the Women led the Horse with the Reins in their Hands, up to the high Cross of *Bristol*, and from thence to the White-hart-Inn in *Broad-street*; by this time the Magistrates hearing of their doings, sent for *Naylor* and his Companions, who came singing all the Way *Hosanna*, and *Holy, Holy, Holy*, &c. The Magistrates of *Bristol* having examined him, sent him up to the Parliament (together with the narrative of his Action committed in those parts) to receive his Sentence, which was as followeth.

‘ That James *Naylor* be set with his Head in the Pillory, in the new Palace

at

at Westminster, during the space of two Hours, on Thursday next, and shall be whipped by the Hangman through the Streets from Westminster, to the Old Exchange London ; and there likewise be set in the Pillory, for the space of two Hours, between the Hours of eleven and one, on Saturday next ; in each of the said Places, wearing a Paper containing an Inscription of his Crimes, and at the Old Exchange his Tongue shall be bored through with a hot Iron ; and that he be there also stigmatized in the Forehead with the Letter B. and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and conveyed into, and thro' the said City on a Horse bare ridg'd, with his Face backward ; and there also publickly whip'd, the next Market-day after he comes thither. That from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the Society of all People, and kept to hard labour, till he shall be released by Parliament ; and during that time be debarred the use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, and shall have no relief, but what he earns by his daily Labour, which accordingly was executed upon him, December 17. 1656.

His Eyes and Familiars were still useful to him for the discovering of more strange designs ;

designs ; the revealing of which, no Question kept many Conspiracies from being attempted, to which effect there is yet another Plot, against the Protectors Life, intended by *Miles Sindercomb*, alias *Fish*, one who had formerly been a Parliament Soldier, under the command of Sir *John Reynolds*, together with one *Cecil* ; induced thereunto, as is said by *Don Alonso*, the late Spanish Ambassador ; to the effecting their designs, they are said to have hired a House at *Hammersmith*, adjoining by the Highway side, to have shot him in his Coach, as he passed by ; but that failing, they intended to have shot him in *Hide-Park*, and to that purpose they filed off the Hinges of the Gates for their better escape ; and this miscarrying, they intended to have fired *White Hall*. For these Offences *Sindercomb* was arraigned at the Upper Bench Bar in *Westminster Hall*, February, 9. 1656. where being found guilty by the Jury, he was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn* ; but before his Execution he was found dead in his Bed, and several presumptions of a violent Death appearing on him ; it was concluded he poisoned himself. Afterwards he was drawn from the Tower unto Tower-hill, at a Horse's-Tail, with his Head forward, and there

there under the Scafold, turned into a hole stark naked, and a Stake spiked and plated with Iron, driven thro' him into the Earth. It is to be observed that whatsoever the vigilancy of the Guard of the Tower was over this Gentleman, that he died with as fresh a Colour as Sir Thomas Overbury is said to have expired with.

But to return where we left, that successful Sea-man General Blake, the Protectors intended Drake, an honest stout incomparable Sea-man, he sailing with his Fleet to *Sancta Cruza*, in the Island of *Teneriff*, in which Port lay sixteen great Spanish Vessels, laden with rich Merchandizes from the Indies, He on the 20th of April, 1657. set upon them, and destroyed them all, not sixty of his own Men being lost.

But to return, June the 20. 1657 the Protector with great Magnificence was installed at *Westminster*, the Parliament then sitting; and in *Westminster Hall*, a rich Cloth of State was set up, and under it a Chair of State placed upon an ascent of two degrees, covered with Carpets, and before it a Table with a Chair appointed for the Speaker of the Parliament, and on each side of the Hall upon the said Structure were Seats raised one above another, and decently covered for the Members of Parliament, and below them,

them, Seats on one side for the Judges of the Land, and on the other side for the Aldermen of the City of London.

About two of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Protector met the Parliament in the Painted Chamber, and passed such Bills as were presented to him ; after which they went in order to the place appointed in Westminster Hall ; the Protector standing under the Cloth of Estate, the Lord Widdrington Speaker of the Parliament, address himself to him in this Speech.

May it please your Highness,

You are now upon a great Theatre, in a large Chare of People, you have the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, before you ; on your Right Hand my Lords the Judges, and on your Left-Hand, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of London ; the most noble and populous City of England. The Parliament, with the Interposition of your sufferage, makes Laws, and the Judges, and Governours of London are the great Dispencers of those Laws to the People.

The Occasion of this great Convention and Intercourse, is, to give an Investiture to your Highness in that eminent Place of Lord Protector ; a Name you had before, but it is now settled by the full and unanimous consent of the People

People of these three Nations assembled in Parliament ; you have no new Name, but a new date added to the old Name ; the 16 of December, is now changed to the 26 of June.

I am commanded by the Parliament, to make oblation to your Highness of four Things in order to this Inauguration.

The first is a Robe of Purple, an Emblem of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice ; when you have put on the Vestment, I may say, (and I hope without Offence) that you are a Good Man. This Robe is of a mixt Colour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy, which are then most excellent when they are well tempered together. Justice without Mercy, is Wormwood and Bitterness, and Mercy without Justice is of a too soft a Temper for Government ; for a Magistrate must have two Hands, Plectentem & Amplectentem.

The next thing is a Bible, a Book that contains the Holy Scripture ; in which you have the Honour and Happiness to be well versed. This is the Book of Life, consisting of two Testaments, the Old and New. In the first we have Christum velatum, Christ in Types, Shadows, and Figures ; in the latter we have Christum revolutum, Christ revealed. This Book carries in it the grounds of the true Christian Protestant Religion ; it's a Book of Books, it contains in it both precepts and examples for good Government.

Alexander

Alexander so highly valued the Books of his Master Aristotle, and other great Princes other Books, that they have laid them every Night under their Pillows. These are all but Legends and Romances to this one Book ; a Book to be had always in remembrance : I find it said in a Part of this Book which I shall desire to read, and it is this. Deut. 17. And it shall be when he sitteth upon the Throne of his Kingdom, that he shall write a Copy of this Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests and Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the Days of his Life, that he may learn to fear the Lord God, and to keep all the Words of his Law and those Statutes, to do them. That his Heart be not lifted up above his Brethren ; and that he turn not aside from the Commandment, to the Right Hand or to the Left, to the end he may prolong his Days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the midst of Israel.

The next Thing that I am to offer to your Highness, is a Scepter, not unlike a Staff, for you are to be a Staff to the Weak and Poor ; it's of ancient use in this kind ; it's said in Scripture, in reference to Judah, the Royal Tribe, That the Scepter shall not depart from Judah. It was of like use in other Kingdoms and Governments : Homer the Prince of the Greek

Poets, calls Kings and Princes Scepter-bearers.

The last Thing is a Sword, not a Military, but a Civil Sword; a Sword rather for a Defence than an Offence; not to defend your self only, but others also; the Sword is an Emblem of Justice. The noble Lord Talbot, in Henry the Sixib's time, wrote upon his Sword, Ego sum Talboti, propter occidendum inimicos meos; This Gallant Lord was a better Souldier then a Critick. If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, it shoud be this, Ego sum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum populum meum,

I say, this Sword is an Emblem of Justice, and is to be used as King Solomon used his, for the discovery of truth in the points of Justice. I may say of this Sword as King David said of Goliah's Sword, There is none like this, Justice is the proper Virtue of the Imperial Throne, and by Justice the Thrones of Kings and Princes are established. Justice is a Royal Virtue, which as one saith of it, doth employ the other three Cardinal Virtues in her service. 1. *Wisdom* to discern the nocent from the Innocent. 2. *Fortitude*, to prosecute, and execute. 3. *Temperance*, so to carry Justice that Passion be no ingredient, and that it be without confusion, or precipitation.

You

You have given ample Testimony in all these particulars, so that this Sword in your Hand will be a right Sword of Justice, attended with *Wisdom, Fortitude, and Temperance.*

When you have all these together, what a finely and glorious sight is it to behold, *A Lord Protector in a Purple Robe, with a Scepter in his Hand, a Sword of Justice girt about him, and his Eyes fixt upon the Bible.*

Long may you prosperously enjoy them all, to your own comfort, and the comfort of the People of these three Nations.

The Speech being ended, Master Speaker came from his Chair, took the Robe, and therewith vested the Protector, being assisted therein by the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Whitlock and others. Which done, the Bible was delivered him; after that the Sword girt about him; and last of all he had the Scepter delivered him. These Things being performed, Master Speaker returned unto his Chair, and administred him his Oath, *in hac verba.*

I do in the Presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my Power I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion,

igion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding; and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same; and that to the utmost of my Power I will endeavour as Chief Magistrate of these three Nations, the Maintenance and Preservation of the Peace and Safety, and just Rights and Priviledge of the People thereof; and shall in all Things, according to our best best Knowledge and Power, govern the People of these three Nations according to Law.

These Ceremonies being performed, a Herald of Arms by sound of Trumpet proclaimed him, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging; hereupon the Trumpets sounded again, and the People (after the usual manner) gave several Acclamations, with loud shouts, crying, God save the Lord Protector His Highness had scarce accepted of these Honours, but as if the ill affected would not let him breath, yet another Plot is discovered, Colonel Edward Sexby is said to have conspired against the Lord Protector; for which he was committed to the Tower, where having continued about half a Year, he died.

But to reflect a little back, Mazarine that great Minister of State, on which hinge all

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the grand Affairs of France turn, perfects a Peace with *England*; the Protector having no regard to those Advantages that *Spain* might render him as to Commerce, the Places of Hostage which she proffered to put into his Hands, as *Gravelin Dunkirk*, and others, he was swayed with other Interest which he best understood himself, to prefer an Alliance and League with *France* before all those Advantages, except his civility induc'd him (which seldom had such Power over him) to look more lovingly upon *France* as the weakest at that time, being abandoned by some of her Allies, as quite disordered by an Intestine War in her own Bowels, her Navigation totally ruined, as the Pirates of *Dunkirk* had blockt up all her Sea Ports; whereas the English scoured those Seas, cast away the Pyrates, and reduced the *Mounseur* and *Diego* by their successes to their so likely advantageous Peace. Indeed, (as one writes) it was a high generosity, since the English caused the French to lose *Graveling* and *Dunkirk*, to help *France* again to take those places. In the mean Space was not here rare bandying of Interests.

France having thus perfected a Peace with *England*, they joynly resolve to unite against the Spaniard; hereupon Sir John

Reynolds with six thousand Foot was sent into *Picardy*, to joyn with the French Cavalry, which compleated as gallant an Army as had been seen in *France* for many Years together. These jointly besiege and take *Mardike*; a strong Fort of the Spaniards in *Flanders*, whereof Major General *Morgan* took Possession for the English; as the earnest of further Conquests; which the Spaniards attempting far to regain, were twice repulsed with very great loss.

But the Joy of these Successes was mitigated by the Death of Admiral *Biske*, who as he got his Honour by the Sea, died on it, and that within sight of *Plimouth*. He was a Man who had deserved of his Country, and might justly be stiled the *Neptune* thereof. His Body was brought with a Naval pomp by Water from *Greenwich* to *Westminster*, being a suitable Ceremony to his Employment, and was there buried in *Henry the Seventh's Chappel*. Upon whom an Ingenious Person bestowed this Epitaph.

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*Here lies a Man, made Spain and Holland
Made France to tremble, and the Turks to quake,
Thus he tam'd Men, but if a Lady stood
In's sight, it rais'd a Palsie in his blood;
Rapids Antagonist, who in his Life*

Had

Had Fortune as familiar as a Wife.

A stiff hard Iron Soldier; for he

It seems had more of Mars than Mercury;

At Sea he thundered, calm'd each raging Wave;

And now he's dead, sent thundring to his Grave.

Soon after was St. Venant taken by the English, the Lord *Henry Cromwell* made Deputy of Ireland. Sir *John Reynolds*, Collonel *White*, and some other Officers drowned upon *Goodwin Sands*, as they were coming out of *Flanders* into *England*.

One writes that the subtily of discovering of Plots, though but in the *Embrio*, or before they are hatcht, in the time of Peace, is the most succinct way of letting of Blood; March 24. (the last Day of the Year account ed for) 1657. a great Conspiracy was again discovered in *London*, several Regiments (as was said) being enrolled; who on the first day of *May* in the Night Time should have set Fire on several parts of the City, and whilst the Confusion and Horroure thereof had seized all Men, they should have made a general massacre of all who opposed them. Hereupon several Persons were apprehended, as Doctor *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Collonel *Ashton*, &c. and a High Court of Justice erected for the Tryal of them; and first they began with Sir *Henry Slingsby*, the Articles charged

charged against them will in part discover themselves in their several Speeches made just before their Deaths. In short, they were both condemned, Dr. *Hemet* (professing himself to be ignorant of such Law ; tho' amongst the most learned Divines few of them were more knowing in the Gospel) being taken in three defaults upon formalities of the Court, was proceeded against as mute,

June 8. 1658. was the Day appointed for their beheading, Sir *Henry Slingsby* first mounting the Stage, spake in effect as followeth.

That he stood condemned by the Court of Justice, as contriving and endeavouring to withdraw divers Officers of the Garrison of *Kingston upon Hull* from their Duty ; and perwading them to a surrendring and yielding up of that Garrison, and one that held correspondence with some beyond Sea to that end. That it was true, he had conference upon that Account with the Officers of that Garrison ; and that he gave Major *Waterhouse* a Commission signed *Charles R.* But that it was but an old one that had lain by him, though he thought fit to make use of it to the Major. Many Passages he said there were which he would not insist on ; that some Friends of his had made Application

tion to his Highness for the saving of his Life, but it seems it was thought fit not to be granted, and therefore he submitted; and was ready to dye, &c.

Having uttered these and the like Words he took off a Ring from his Bandstrings wherein instead of a Seal engraven, was the Picture of the late King exactly done, and giving it to a Gentleman that stood by him, he said, *Pray give this to Harry.* Then he address'd himself to Prayer, wherein he continued some time; taking leave of his Friends, he submitted his Neck to the Block, and had his Head severed from his Body at one Blow by the Executioner. This at one Blow by the Executioner, the Reader may observe hath been very often repeated in this Volume.

His Tragick Scene bein' acted, that Religious and Reverend Divine Doctor *Hewer*, the golden tongu'd *Chrysostom*, entered the Lists of Death. In this Warfare the Doctor put on the spiritual Armour of a blessed Confidence, delivering his Mind to the People in these following Words.

I am now become a publick Spectacle to Men and Angels, and (I hope) God who is omniscient is now beholding me with much Pity, Mercy and Compassion; and the more, because I am now come to that end that

that his own Son came into the World to, to bear Witness to the Truth; he himself said, *For this end was I born, for this cause came I into the World, that I should bear Witness to the Truth.* I was brought into the World (the Christian World) ior to bear Witness to the Truth of the Gospel, as a common Christian; I was brought into the World (the Church) as a Minister of his blessed Word and Sacraments; Blessed be his Name for that great Honour and Dignity; I and I came into the World to dye more immediately for the Testimony of Jesus, which God hath now called me to. I came into this World (this Commonwealth) to be a Member thereof, to bear Witness to the Truths of the Customs, the Laws, the Liberties, and Priviledges thereof; so I am a Member of the Commonwealth. And methinks it seems to me a strange thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty and Priviledges, and I pleading for the Priviledges, the Laws, the Statutes, and the Customs of this Land, yet I should die by those that should stand for the Laws, the Statutes, and Priviledges of the Land. And I am here beheld by those that plead for their Liberties, and I hope I am pittied, because I here give up my self willingly and freely to be a State-Martyr for the publick good;

ood; and I had rather die many Deaths myself, then betray my fellow Freemen to so many Inconveniences that they might be like to suffer, by being subject to the Wills of them that w^{ll} led me to this Death.

And it is worthy Remembrance that Master *Solicitor* having impeached me of Treason to the Commissioners of the Court against his Highness, I did often (when brought before those Commissioners) plead for the Liberties of the People of *England*, though I had no Knowledge of the Law, yet I had Instructions from those that were learned in the Law, and had several Law-Cases and Presidents put into my Hand, though not by them, and urged several Law-Cases, and made my Appeal. First, for the Judicature that I was to be tryed by, Whether it were according to Law? Whethier it were according to the Act? And whether it were according to the Words of the said Act? I did appeal to have the said Act argued by learned Lawyers on both sides, and then to be resolved by his Highnes's own Council, which was denied me. [This by the by.] I preßing the Argument, made a second Appeal, that those Judges, if they would give singly their several Judgments that it was a just and lawful Court of Judicature, I would answer

answer to my Charge. I did make another Appeal to those that were his Highnesses Council, and pleaded against me, That if they would deliver it to me under their Hands to be according to Law, I would then go on to plead, and answer to the Charge. What was then said further my Spirits being faint, I shall not say much, but only this, I was taken in three defaults upon formality of the Court. It seems it is a custom in all Courts, (which I did not know before) that if they answer not the third time speaking, by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three defaults, and proceeded against as mute : [I had no such Knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of those defaults ; and when I would have pleaded, and resolved to begin to plead, I was taken from the Bar. I did the next Day make my Petition to the Court in the Painted Chamber, two Petitions were presented, the same in effect ; the former, the Title was mistaken. Yet because the Title was mistaken, and no Answer given, therefore it was that another Petition was drawn up to the same Effect, with a new Title given, (as I remember) presented by the Serjeant at Ar^t ad one writ it over in such haste, lest they should be drawn out of the Painted Chamber into the

the Court, that I had not time to read it over, only I subscribed my Name, and there was in the Front of the Petition a Word left out, but what the Word was, I know not ; and this was taken so ill, as if I had put an Affront and Contempt on the Court : And it was thought they would have heard me plead ; and then because of that mistake, they sent Word, I should have my Answer when I came into the Court, and my Answer was the Sentence of Condemnation. And therefore I pray with all my Soul, that God would forgive all those that occasioned the Charge to be drawn against me, to give such unjust Things against me : I pray with all my Soul, that God would forgive all those that upon so slender and small Grounds adjudg'd me to dye, taking Advantage of such simple Ignorance as I was in. And I had at the very beginning of my pleading, engaged their Honours no Advantage should be taken against me to my Prejudice, that in as much as I understood nothing of the Law : And having heard that a Man in the Nicety of the Law might be lost in the Severity thereof; merely for speaking a Word out of simple Ignorance, I made it my Prayer to them that no Advantage might be taken against me to the Prejudice of my Person

H

And

And there was to me a seeming Consent; for the President told, there should be no Advantage taken against me; and upon these Considerations I am afraid there was too great Uncharitableness; but I pray God forgive them from the very bottom of my Soul, and I desire that even those that shed my Blood, may have the Bowels of the God of Mercy shed for them.

And now having given you the Occasion of my coming hither, it is fit I should give you somewhat as concerning my self as I am a Christian, I thank God I was Baptized to the Holy Church, so I was Baptized to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that is, the Church of *England*, which I dare say for Purity of Doctrine, and orderly Discipline, till a sad Reformation had spoiled the Face of the Church, and made it a quarry whether it were a Church, or no; I say, it was more purely Divine and Apostolical, than any other Doctrine or Church in the Christian World, whether National, or Classical, or Congregational. And I must tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, so I am a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, and shall give a most just Confession of my Faith both negatively and affirmatively; negatively, I am so a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that

that I abhor all Sects, Schisms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively so, that as I hold Communion with, so I love and honour all Christians in the World that love the same Lord Jesus in Sincerity, and call on his Name agreeing with those Truths that are absolutely necessary, and clearly demonstrated in the Word of God, both in the Old and New Testaments; tho' in Charity dissenting from some others that are not necessary. And I, as I am thus a Christian, I hope for Salvation through the Merits of Christ Jesus; his Blood I rely on, his Merits I trust to for the Salvation of my own Soul. Though to this Faith, good Works are necessary, not meritorious in us, but only made meritorious by Christ his Death; by his all sufficiency, by his satisfaction, and his righteousness, they become meritorious. And truly as I am a Member of this Church, so I am a Member of this Community, and so pleaded for the Liberties and Privileges thereof. I must now answer something I am aspersed withal in the World.

They talk of something of a Plot, and a Treasonable Design, and that I had a great Interest in the Knowledge and Practice thereof, and that for the saving my Life, I would have discover'd and betray'd I cannot

tell what : I hope my Conversation hath not been such here in this City, where I have been a long Time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermeddle in such an Action, and go so contrary to the Practice of my Profession ; and I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a Knowledge of that Design.

Here I must come to particulars, for a Plot, of having a Design upon the City of London for the Firing of it : I so much trouble at the Thought of the Thing that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a Design, (if my Heart deceive me not) had I known it, I so much abhor the Thing, I should have been the first discoverer of it : Nor ever had I Correspondency or Meetings with such Persons as would have carried on such a Design. It is said likewise, I entertained the Earl, the Marquess of Ormond ; to my Remembrance I never saw the Face of that Honourable Person in my Life. It is said, One Lords Day I did preach at Saint Gregory's and the next Lords Day I was at Brussels or Bruges, and kist the Kings Hand, and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Instructions from him ; this I shall say, For these three Years last past together, I have not been fifty Miles from this City of London, and I think

think it is somewhat farther to either of those Places then threescore Miles. It is said that I kept Correspondence with one *Barrow* and *Bishop*; they are Persons I have heard of their Names, but never saw their Faces, and to my Knowledge I do not know they knew me; nor do I know them at all, but only as I have heard of their Names. And whosoever else hath suggested such things against me, I know not.

His Highness was pleased to tell me, I was like a flaming Torch in the midst of a Sheaf of Corn; he meaning, I being a publick Preacher, was able to set the City on Fire by Sedition and Combustions, and promoting Designs. Here truly I do say, and have it from many of those that are Judges of the High Court, that upon Examination of the Busines they have not found me a Meddler at all in these Affi.irs. And truly, I must needs say therefore, that it was a very uncharitable Act in them (who ever they were) that brought such Accusations against me, and irritated his Highness against me, I will not say it was Malice, it might be Zeal, but it was rash zeal which caused me to be sentenced to this Place; the God of Mercy pardon and forgive them all, and truly as I am a Member of the Church, and as a Member of

the Community whereon behalf I have been speaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himself did for his Disciples when he was to be taken from them, he blessed them, and ascended up to Heaven. My Trust is in the Mercy of the most High, I shall not miscarry ; and however my Days are shortened by this unexpected doom, and shall be brought untimely to the Grave : I cannot go without my Prayers for a Blessing upon all the People of this Land, and cannot but bless them all in the Name of God, and beseech God to bless them in all their Ways, and his Blessing be upon them.

.Let us Pray.

O Most glorious Lord God, thou whose Dwelling is so far above the Highest Heavens, that thou humblest thy self but to look upon the Things that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth; and thou doest whatsoever thou wilt both in Heaven, in Earth, in the Sea, and in all deep Places ; in thy Hands are the Hearts of all Men, and thou turnest them which way soever thou wilt, O Lord look in Mercy and Compassion we beseech thee, on this great and innumerable People of this Land ; look upon them O Lord, with an Eye of Pity, not with an Eye of Fury and Indignation ; O look

not upon all those great and grievous Sins that have provoked thee most justly to Wrath and Displeasure against us. Gracious God, who can stand in thy Sight when thou art angry ? When thou with rebuke dost correct Man for Sin, thou makest his Beauty to consume away like as it were a Moth fretting a Garment. O Lord, thy Indignation and Wrath lies heavy upon us, and thou hast vexed us with thy Scourges, thou hast made us a Reproach and a by Word amongst our Neighbours, and the very Heathens laugh us to scorn. O that thou wouldest turn us again, O Lord God of Hosts ; that thou wouldest shew us the Light of thy Countenance, that we may behold it ; that thou wouldest humble us for all those Sins and grievous Transgressions that are amongit us ; for those Atheisms, for those Infidelities, horrid Blasphemies, and Prophaneness ; for those Sacrileges, for those Heresies, for those Schisms, Errors, and all those Blindnesses of Heart, Pride, vain Glory, and Hypocrisie ; for that Envy, Hatred, and Malice, and all Uncharitableness, that hath set us one against another, that we are so dashed one against another, even to destroy each other ; Ephraim against Manasseh, and Manasseh against Ephraim, and both against Judah. O

Lord

Lord we are like those Moabites and Ammonites, &c. —— This thou hast done to us O Lord, because we have rebelled against thee : O how greatly and grievously have we sinned against thee, yet for all this, thou hast not requited us according to our ill deservings, for thou mightest have brought us to Desolation and Destruction ; Fire might have come down from Heaven, and destroyed us ; our Foreign Enemies, and the Enemies of thee, and thy Christ our Saviour, might have swallowed us up. What have we not deserved ! yet O the long Suffering, and Patience, and Goodness of our God ! O Lord our God, we pray thee that thy Patience and long Suffering might lead to Repentance that thou wouldest be pleased, thou who delightest not in the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he should turn from his Sins and live, that thou wouldest turn us unto thee O Lord, and we shall be turned ; draw us, and we shall run after thee ; draw us with the Cords of Love, and by the Bands of loving kindness, by the powerful working of thy Holy Spirit in our Souls, working Contrition in our Hearts, and a Godly Sorrow for all our Sins, even a Sorrow to Repentance, and a Repentance to Salvation never to be repented of. Lord break those stony Hearts of

ours

ours by the Hammer of thy Word, mollify them by the Oil of thy Grace, smite these rocky Hearts of ours by the Rod of thy most gracious Power, that we may shed forth Rivers of Tears for all the Sins we have committed. O that thou wouldest make us grieve because we cannot grieve, and to weep because we cannot weep enough; that thou wouldest humble us more and more in the true Sight and Sense of all our Provocation against thee; and that thou wouldest be pleased in the Blood of Jesus Christ to cleanse us from all our Sins; Lord let his Blood that speaks better Things than that of Abel, cry louder in thine Ears, for Mercy, then all those Mischiefs and Wickednesses that have been done amongst us for Vengeance. O besprinkle our polluted, but Penitent Souls, in the Blood of Jesus Christ, that we may be clean in thy Sight, and that the Light of thy Countenance may shine upon us. Lord be pleased to Seal unto our Souls the free Pardon and Forgiveness of all our Sins; say to each of our Souls, and say that we may hear it, that thou art well pleased with us, and appeased towards us. Lord, do thou by the Spirit assure our Spirits, that we are thy Children, and that thou art reconciled to us in the Blood of Jesus Christ. To this end, O Lord, create in us

new

new Hearts, and renew right Spirits within us. Cast us not away from thy Presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from us; but give us the Comfort of thy Help, and establish us with thy free Spirit. Help us to live as thy redeemed ones; and (Lord) let us not any longer by our wicked Lives deny that most Holy Faith wherof our Lips have for so long Time made Profession, but let us that call on the Name of the Lord Jesus, depart from Iniquity, and have every evil Way. Help us to cast away our Transgressions, whereby we have transgressed, and make us new Hearts. Carry us along through the Pilgrimage of the World, supplying us with all Things needful for us; thy Grace alone is sufficient for us: Lord, let thy Grace be assistant to us to strengthen us against all the Temptations of Satan, especially against those whereunto we are most prone, either Custom or Constitution, or most easily provoked. O Lord, with what Affliction ever thou shalt punish us, do not punish us with spiritual Judgments and Desertions. Give us not over to our own Hearts Lust to our vile, lewd, and corrupt Affections, give us not over to Hardness and Impenitency of Heart, but make us sensible of the Least Sin, and give us thy Grace to think upon U

in little committed against thee our God,
but that we may be humbled for it, and
repent of it, and reform it in our Lives and
Conversations ; and Lord keep us from
resumptuous Sins, O let not them get the
Dominion over us, but keep us Innocent
from the great Offence, O Lord our Strength
and our Redeemer. And Lord sanctify
unto us all thy Methods and Proceedings
with us, fitting us for all further Tribula-
tions and Tryals whatsoever thou in thy
divine Pleasure shalt be pleased to impose
upon us ; Lord give us Patience, Constan-
cy, Resolution and Fortitude to undergo
them, that though we walk through the
Valley of the Shadow of Death, we may
bear none ill ; knowing that thou O Lord,
art mercifully with us, and that with thy
God as well as with thy Staff thou wilt
support and comfort us ; and that nothing
shall be able to seperate us from thy Love
which is in Jesus Christ our Lord.

And (gracious God) we beseech thee
e thou pleased to look mercifully and
compassionately on thy Holy Catholick
Church, and grant that all they that do
confess thy Holy Name, may agree together
in the Truth of thy Holy Word, and live
in Unity and godly Love. Thou hast pro-
mised O Lord, the Gates of Hell shall not
prevail

prevail against thy Church ; perform we beseech thee, thy most gracious promises both to thy whole Church, and to that Part of it which thou hast planted, and now afflicted in these sinful Lands and Nations wherein we live ; arise, O Lord, and have Mercy upon our *Sion*, for it is time that thou have Mercy upon her, yea, the Time is come, for thy Servants think upon her Stones, and it pittieth them to see her in the Dust. Lord maintain thine own Cause rescue the Light of thy Truth from all those Clouds of Errors and Heresies, which do so much obscure it, and let the Light thereof in a free Profession break forth and shine again among us, and that continually even as long as the Sun and Moon endures.

To this end, O Lord bless us all, and bless him, the Posterity — which in Authority ought to rule over, and be above us ; Bless him in his Soul, and in his Body, in his Friends, and in his Servants, and all his Relations : Guide him by thy Council, prosper him in all Undertakings, granting him a long, prosperous, and honourable Life here upon Earth, and that he may attain to a Blessed Life hereafter. And gracious God, look mercifully upon all our Relations, and do thou bring them to the Light of thy Truth that are wandering

ing and ready to fall. Confirm them in thy Truth that already stand, show some good Token for good unto them, that they may rejoice. O let thy good Hand of Providence be over them in all their Ways. And to all Orders and Degrees of Men that be amongst us, give Religious Hearts to them that now rule in Authority over us: Loyal Hearts in the Subjects towards their Supream, and loving Hearts in all Men to their Friends, and charitable Hearts one towards another. And for the Continuance of thy Gospel among us, restore in thy good Time to their several Places and Callings, and give Grace O Heavenly Father to all Bishops, Pastors, and Curates, that they may both by their Life and Doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy Holy Sacraments. And Lord bles^s thy Church still with Pastors after thine own Heart, with a continual Succession of faithful and able Men, that they may both by Life and Doctrine declare thy Truth, and never for fear or favour backslide or depart from the same; and give them the Assistance of thy Spirit that may enable them so to preach thy Word, that may keep the People upright in the midst of a corrupted and corrupt Generation. And good Lord bles^s thy

People every where with hearing Ears, understanding Hearts, conscientious Souls, and obedient Lives, especially those over whom I have had either lately or formerly a charge, that with meek Heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy Holy Word, truly serving thee in Righteousness and Holiness all the Days of their Lives.

And we beseech thee of thy Goodness and Mercy to comfort and succour all those that in this transitory Life be in Trouble, Sorrow, Need, Sicknes or any other Adversity; Lord help the Helpless, and comfort the Comfortless, visit the Sick, relieve the Oppressed, help them to right that suffer wrong, set them at Liberty that are in Prison, restore the Banished, and of thy great Mercy, and in thy good Time deliver all thy People out of their Necesities: Lord do thou of thy great Mercy fit us all for our latter end, for the Hour of Death and the Day of Judgment; and do thou in the Hour of Death and at the Day of Judgment, from thy Wrath and everlasting Damnation, good Lord deliver us, through the Cross and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In mean time, O Lord teach us so to apply our Hearts to true Wisdom;

Wisdom ; that we may be Wise unto Salvation, that we may live soberly, Godly, and Righteously in this present World, denying all Ungodliness and worldly Lusts : Lords teach us so to live, that we may not be afraid to dye, and that we may so live that we may be always prepared to dye that when Death shall seize upon us it may not surprize us, but that we may lift up our Heads with Joy, knowing that our Redemption draws nigh, and that we shall be for ever happy, being assured that we shall come to the Felicity of the Chosen, and rejoice with the Gladness of the People ; and give us such a fullness of thy Holy Spirit that may make us stedfast in this Faith, and confirm us in this Hope ; indue us with Patience under thy afflicting Hand, and withal a chearful Resolution of our selves to thy divine disposing ; that so passing the Pilgrimage of this World, we may come to the Land of Promise the Heavenly Canaan, that we may reign with thee in the World to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord ; in whose blessed Name and Words we farther call upon thee, saying, Our Father &c.

Let thy mighty Hand, and out-stretched Arm, O Lord, be the Defence of me and

all other thy servants, thy mercy and loving kindness in Jesus Christ our salvation, thy true and holy word our instruction, thy grace and holy Spirit our comfort and consolation, to the end, and in the end, through Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen,*

His Speech and Prayer ended with much Meekness and spiritual Consolation. He submitted his Neck to the stroak of the Ax, to as great a Loss of the Church of Christ, and of all good Men, as hath happened in our Times. I have the more enlarged my self, that my Reader might not without a kind of a Confusion or Possession of strange Amazement pass by the Concernments of this blessed Heroe.

The same Day of Doctor Hewets Tryal, was also tryed John Mordant of Clement Danes Esquire, with whom he was a Fellow-Prisoner; the Charge against him, was for combining with Henry Bishop of Parham in Sussex Gent. Hartigil Baron, and Francis Mansel, with divers others for raising War against Oliver Lord Protector, in the behal of Charles Stuart, and conferring with J. Stapely, Esq. Henry Mallory, and others, how to effect the same; and delivering Commissions to several Persons in the Name of, and as from the said Charles Stuart, &c. He

He stood long upon it (as did the Doctor before) to have Council assigned him, and that he might be tryed by a Jury; but finding it would not be granted, he at last pleaded not Guilty, many Witnesses deposited against him; yet he by his Ingenuity so cleared himself; that notwithstanding many Endeavours to the contrary, he was discharged.

July the 17. following, Colonel *Ashton* and *John Betley* were executed, the one in Tower-street, the other in Cheap-side: Colonel *Ashton* was the first, being drawn on a Sledge, that Worthy Divine Doctor *Warmestry* submitting for the good of a poor Christians Soul to lie along with him upon the Sledge, that he might lose no Time for his spiritual Converse. They were drawn from Newgate to Tower-street, over against Mark-lane end, where a Gibbet was erected. As he ascended the Ladder, Doctor *Warmestry* said, Almighty God, who is a strong Tower, be with thee, and make thee know and feel, that there is no other Name under Heaven, whereby to attain everlasting Life, but by the Name of Jesus. The Blessing of God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost be with you henceforth and for ever, Amen.

He being upon the Ladder, exprest a great deal of Confidence he had in the

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Merits and Mercies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; not doubting but that through the red Sea of his Blood he should arriving at the Heavenly Canaan, and in little space behold his Saviour, whom his Soul so much longed after. Then fixing his Eyes upon the Multitude, he spake to this effect,

I am brought here to a shameful Death ; I am an English Man born, and (as many know) Gentleman born ; I was drawn into this Business by several Persons, and am now brought here for my former Sins : God hath delivered me several Times from several Judgments, he hath visited me at this Time ; because I slighted and did not pursue that Repentance that I promised. Therefore I desire all good People leave off their Sins for Christ his sake, and become new Men, for it is that that brings all Men to ruin : I beseech God of Mercy have Mercy upon my Soul, Lord God I come to thee Lord the Father of Heaven have Mercy upon me O God the Son Redeemer of the World have Mercy upon me, O God the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son have Mercy upon me. Remember not my Offences, but spare me, good Lord God ; I beseech thee spare thy Servant whom thou hast redeemed, for thy dear Sons sake. I have more to say, but desire the Prayers of all good People.

Having

Having ended his Speech he committed
his Spirit into the Hands of God, and hav-
ing said, *Lord have Mercy upon my Soul*, he
was turned off the Ladder, and instantly
cut down, his Belly ripped up, and his
Bowels burnt in a Fire ready prepared for
that purpose ; he being not yet Dead ; then
was his Head cut off, and his Body divided
into four Quarters, put into a Basket and
conveyed back to Newgate.

Next they proceeded and fetcht John
Betley (for there was a great deal of Busines
done by the Executioner that Day) into
Cheapside, where formerly the Cross stood ;
where was likewise a Gibbet set up ; being
come to the Place with a Minister, the Mi-
nister read, and the People sung with him a
Psalm, beginning thus, *O Lord consider my*
Distress, &c. Then he went up the Lad-
der, and said as followeth.

Lord receive my Soul, and be merciful to me ;
I commit my Soul into Almighty Gods
Hands ; for he is my Protector and Redeemer.
I am not ashamed to live, nor afraid to die ;
for my Conversation hath been such, in Christ
Jesus I hope I shall find Mercy. As concerning
them that are my Enemies, I pray God forgive
them their Sins, I freely forgive them all that
have done me wrong. As for the late Plot, I

was never but once in Company with them concerned therein : I did know of such a Thing, but deny that I acted therein. Shall I damn my Soul at this Instant ? I will speak the Truth. One Brandon, that was one of them, drew me into the Business, and his Man. I carrying Work to him, could not refrain his House, he so often enticed me thereto, and would not let me alone, till he had got me into a House, where we drank together. I have no more to say as to the Plot, but desire Mercy fror^r God. Having this said, the Executioner turned him off, and the rest of the Sentence was executed upon him, as before upon Colonel Ashton, and his Head and Quarters were conveyed also to Newgate.

Some two Days after, one Edmund Stacy also about the same Conspiracy was executed in Cornhill over against the Exchange ; as also a Youth in Smithfield having the Rope about his Neck, the horror of Death being worse then Death it self, but for his Souls Health, was Reprieved, the Torrent of Blood being for a while stayed.

Whilst these Tradgedies were acting on the Land, a strange Accident no less prodigious happened on the Water ; a Whale of a monstrous bigness, at least sixty Foot, and of a proportionable Breadth, was cast up

on the River of Thames near London; which by the common People was accounted a Prognostication of the Protectors Death, which ensued not long after.

But to return to Flanders, where we formerly left, the Sea whereof like a sharp Humour did always nourish the Wounds of incurable Evils; nor was the French their letting of her Blood sufficient, she wanted an English Physician to treat her. Our Armies, whose Valours made not a stand at Mardike, but with a gallant Resolution besieged Dunkirk, which being a Place of great Importance, the Spaniard intended to relieve; and with an Army of sixteen thousand, came within an English Mile and a half of the French Quarters; wherenpon the English and French uniting their Forces, leaving some part of them before Dunkirk, to make good the Approaches, and guard the Trenches; with fifteen thousand Men, and ten Pieces of Cannon, set upon the Spaniard, whom after a long and sharp Fight, they put to a total Rout and Confusion, with the Loss of three thousand five hundred Men; which Victory was in a manner wholly attributed to the Valour of the English. The Loss of this Day lost the Spaniard Dunkirk, who quickly after surrendered up the Town upon these following Conditions.

i. That

1. That the Town shall be yielded up, with all their great Guns, their stores of Victuals, Magazines of Arms, and Ammunition, without any embracement.
2. That all Officers and Soldiers shall have Liberty to march out with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, two Pieces of Ordnance, and their Baggage.
3. That they shall have the Liberty to march with a Convoy to conduct them to Saint Omers.
4. That the Inhabitants should remain indemnified in their Persons and Goods, and enjoying their former Customs and Priviledges for two Years, and not be molested touching the Exercise of their Religion.

The Articles signed, the Spaniards marched out, being about one Thousand Horse and Foot, and seven hundred more that were wounded; the French (according as it was articed before) put the English in Possession thereof, which ever since they have maintained.

I have heard of an expression of the Gouvernours of Ostend. A little before the Massacre there, a Person of Quality being sent thither about the exchange of Prisoners, after he was civilly treated, the Glasses of Wine going freely about; the Gouvernor being in a safe Place began to throw forth Words to this effect; Sir, is this the Mode of

your

your Mushroom Protector, hath he no other Way
to pay my Master the King of Spain for his Bul-
lion, but with Bullets.

Soon after the taking of Dunkirk deceased
the Lady Cleypoll, second Daughter to the
Protector ; a Lady whom Posterity will
mention with an honourable Character,
who often interposed, and became an humble
Supplicant to her Father for many Persons
designd to dye ; her last request as it
was thought, for some eminent Persons be-
ing deny'd, was a means of hastening her
Death, which much sadned her Father's
Spirits ; nor did he long survive her, her
Death causing more Wounds in his Heart,
than all he received in the Wars.

But as his Severity was great to his En-
emies, so did he excell in Gratitude to his
Friends ; amongst other Examples, I shall
instance in the Person of one Duret a French-
man, who attended him during his Gene-
ralship, and served him with so much Fide-
lity and Zeal, as that he entrusted him
with the Managing and Conduct of the
greatest Part of his Domestick Affairs, al-
ways retaining him nigh his Person, bear-
ing so great an affection towards him, and
reposing so entire a Confidence in him, that
during a great Sicknes which he had in
Scotland, (and whereof it was thought he
wou'd

wou'd have died) he would not be served by any one, nor receive any nourishment, or any thing else that was administer'd unto him, save from the Hands of *Duret*, who both Day and Night continued to watch by his Master; tending him with a special care and assiduity, not giving himself a Moments rest until his Master had recover'd his perfect Health; which long and continued Watches of *Duret*, and the great Pains he had taken, drove him into a sad fit of Sickness; to recover him, his endeareed Master in retribution of his great Services, spared no Cost, but applied all possible means that could be procured, not only by his Commands, but by his personal Visits (so oft as his urgent Affairs would permit.) *Duret* dying, he sends over into *France* for his Mother, Sister and two Nephews, to requite in them the Obligations he owed to his deceased Friend and Servant; and where as by reason of the continuance of the Scotch Wars, he was as it were confin'd to the North, he wrote unto his Wife, 'That she should proportion that Kindness which during his Absence she should shew unto them, to the Love which she bare unto him. In somuch that *Duret's* Mother was admitted into her own Family, and seated at her own Table; his Sister was placed in

the

the rank and Quality of a Maid of Honour, and his two Nephews were admitted to be her Highnesses Pages, which Love of his he extended towards them to the Day of his Death.

One writes, that when he came to have more absolute Power towards the latter End of his Days, that he hath been heard often to wish, that those that had been put to Death were yet alive; protesting solemnly, that if he could not have changed their Hearts, he would have changed their Dooms, and converted their Deaths into Banishment.

Waving this digression, as in respect of the distance of Time, we are now come to his own approaching Catastrophe. His Death was ushered in by an extraordinary Tempest, and violent gust of Weather, which blew down some Houses, tore up the Trees by the Roots, one in the old *Palace Yard* by the Parliament-House, which by the event hath signified no otherwise then the Root and Branch of his Government. It was a horrid Tempest, as if Nature would have the Protectors Death to be accompanied with a general horrour. The same is elegantly set forth in a Poem by the same laureat: I shall set down his smooth Poem, which was answered as roughly in respect

of the single rapier'd Senie, though otherwise in the same Virgil stile, Line for Line; the latter as too Satyrical I have omitted, the other follows.

*We must resign, Heaven his great Soul doth claim
In Storms as loud as his immortal Fame.
His dying Groans, his last Breath shakes our Isle,
And Trees uncut fall for his Funeral Pile;
About his Palace their broad Roots were tost,
Into the Air, so Romulus was lost :
New Rome in such a Tempest mist their King,
And from Obeying fell to Worshipping,*

*On Etna's top, thus Hercules lay dead,
With ruin'd Oaks, and Pines about him spread,
Those his last Fury from the Mountain rent,
Our dying Hero from the continent. [rest,
Ravish't whole Towns, and Forts from Spaniards
As his Last Legacy to Brittain left,
The Ocean which so long our Hopes confin'd,
Could give no Limits to his waster Mind :
Our Bounds enlargement was his latest Toil,
Nor hath he left us Prisoners t' our Isle,
Under the Tropick is our Language spoke,
And part of Flanders hath receiv'd our yoke
From Civil Broyles he did us disengage,
Found nobler Objects for our Martial rage ;
And with wise Conduct to his Count now'd
Their ancient way of conquering abroad.
Ungrestful then it were no Tears t' allow*

To Rich

To him that gave us Peace and Empire too :
Princes that fear'd him grieve, concern'd, to see
No pitch of Glory from the Grave is free.

Nature her self took notice of his Death,
And sighing swell'd the Sea with such a Breath ;
That to remotest shores her Billows roll'd,
The approaching Fate of their great Ruler told.

September the third, 1658, he march'd off
from his earthly Honours, and received his
Writ of Ease from all his Labours, as Death
alone was able to encounter him, which
was on a Day, one Year after another, An-
no 1650, and Anno 1651, rubrickt with two
of his remarkable Victories ; as Antipater
died the same Day of his rising. But as
concerning the manner of his Death, after
he had been sick about a Fortnight of the
Disease, which at the beginning was but
an Ague, of which Tamberlain died ; on
Friday being the third of September 1658.
in the Morning he gave all the Signs of a
dying Person ; he remained in that manner
till three of the Clock in the Afternoon ; he
had in his last a perfect and intire Under-
standing, his greatest and most important
Affair was to name a Protector to be his
Successor, which after his decease was con-
scientaneously confirmed on his eldest Son
To Richard ; he died in the midst of his Victo-

ries and Triumphs, and in a Bed of Bucklers. On his Death-bed he dispatcht several Businesses of Consequence, answering the Physicians who reproved him, as the Emperor did, *That a Governour ought to die standing.*

Alexander the Great was born on the sixth Day of *April*, on the like Day the famous Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was burnt presaging that Fire which this Conqueror should kindle in *Asia*. The same *Gnatho*, from whom I borrow this example, who hath many more, but at last, saith he, to look no further then our own Country, into our own Histories, it is observed that the late *Richard* the succeeding Protector was installed in his Protectorship the third Day of *September*, when as *Richard* the First so much spoken of in our Histories, begun his Reign; an Accident, saith he, which cannot but promise him a most favourable Omen, and good Token: But a blinck Fellow in two rustical Verses hath since, as to the event, better specified,

*That his successors Government ne'er staid,
A stray'd Sheeps Time, not to be year'd and dayd.*

As to the remarkable Passages which happened on the like Days of *Olivers* Life, some

ome have observed, that on the third of September he was confirmed in his Protectorship by the Parliament ; on the third of September he gained that Battle of *Dunbar* ; on the third of September he gained that great Battle of *Worcester* ; and on the third of September he died at *White Hall* ; with all the Comforts that good Hopes could give in his Posterity.

His Corps being embalmed, and wrapped up in a Sheet of Lead, were September the 26, about ten of the Clock at Night, privately removed from *White Hall* to *Somerset House*, where it remained till the 23 of November, lying in the mean Time in so great State, as would puzzle Antiquity to shew such a President ; which by some was accounted an unnecessary Vanity, the Commonwealth at that Time being so involved in Debts both to the Soldiery, the Navy, and others.

The three first Rooms at *Somerset-House* where the Spectators entered, were hung with black, having in each of them a Cloth of State, with a Chair of State under the same, at the Head of each Cloth of State was fixed a large Majestick Scutcheon fairly painted and gilt upon Taffaty, and all the Rooms furnished with Scutcheons of his Arms, crowned with the Imperial Crown

The fourth Room where both the Corps and the Effigies did lye, was compleatly hung with black Velvet, the Roof ceiled with Velvet, and a large Canopy or Cloth of State of black Velvet fringed, was plated over the Effigies made to the Life in Wax. The Effigies it self being apparel'd in a rich suit of uncut Velvet, robed in a little Robe of Purple Velvet, laced with a rich gold Lace, and furr'd with Ermins ; upon the Kirtle was the Royal large Robe of the like Purple Velvet, laced and furred with Ermins ; with rich strings and tassels of Gold : the Kirtle being girt with a rich embroidered Belt, wherein was a fair Sword richly gilt and hatch'd with Gold, hanging by the side of the Effigies. In the Right Hand was the Golden Scepter, representing Government ; in the Left Hand the Globe, denoting Principality ; upon the Head a Purple Velvet Cap furr'd with Ermins, signifying Regality : Behind the Head there was placed a Rich Chair of State of tissued Gold, and upon the Cushion which lay thereon was placed an Imperial Crown set with precious Stones. The Body of the Effigies lay upon a Bed of state covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, under which there was spread a fine Holland Sheet upon six Stools of tissued Cloth of Gold : on the fides

sides of the Bed of State was placed a rich suit of Compleat Armour, and at the Feet thereof stood his Crest.

The Bed of State whereupon the Effigies did thus lye, was ascended unto by two Steps covered with the aforesaid Pall of Velvet; at each corner whereof there was placed an upright Pillar covered with Velvet, upon the Tops whereof were the four Supporters of the Imperial Arms, bearing Banners or Streamers crowned. The Pillars were adorned with Trophies of Military Honour, carved and gilt, the Pedestals of the Pillars had Shields and Crowns gilt, which compleated the whole Work, covered with Velvet: within the Rails stood eight silver Candlesticks, or Standards, almost five foot high, with Virgin-wax Tapers of a yard long; next unto the Candlesticks there were set upright in Sockets the four great Standards of his Arms, the Guydons, great Banners, and Banrolls of War, being all of Taffety very richly gilt and painted. The Cloth of State which covered the Bed and the Effigies, had a Majestick Scutcheon; and the whole Room adorned with Taffety Scutcheons, several of his Servants attending bare-headed, to set out the Ceremony with the greater Lustre.

After this (to shew there is no intermission of this Vanity) his Effigies was several Days shown in another Room, standing upon an ascent under a rich Cloth of State ; vested in Royal Robes, having a Scepter in one Hand, and a Globe in the other, a Crown on his Head, his Armour lying by him at a distance, and the Banners, Banrolls, and Standards being placed round about him, together with the other Ensigns of Honour, the whole Room being adorned in a Majestical manner, and his Servants standing by bare-headed, as before.

November the 23. was the Day appointed for the Solemnization of the Funerals, multitudes were the Spectators, which from all Places came to behold it, so much are we taken with Novelty, that we think no cost too much for the beholding a two or three Hours Vanity. The Effigies being a while placed in the middle of a Room, was carried on the Hearse by ten Gentlemen into the Court-yard, where a very rich Canopy of State was born over it by six other Gentlemen, till it was brought and placed in a Chariot ; at each end whereof was a seat wherein sat two of his late Highness Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber ; the Pall which was made of Velvet, and the White Linnen was very large, extending on each

fide

side of the Carriage and was born up by several Persons of Honour. The Chariot wherein the Effigies was conveyed, was covered with black Velvet, adorned with Plumes and Scutcheons, and was drawn by six Horses covered with black Velvet, and each of them adorned with Plumes of black Feathers.

From *Somerset-House* to *Westminster* the Streets were railed in, and strewed with Sand; the Soldiers being placed on each side of the Streets without the Rails, and their Ensigns wrapped up in a Cypress mourning Veil.

The manner of the proceeding to the Interment was briefly thus. First, a Knight Martial advanced on Horse-back with his black Truncheon tipt at both ends with Gold, attended by his Deputy and thirteen Men on Horse-back to clear the Way.

After him followed the poor Men of *Westminster* in mourning Gowns and Hoods, marching two and two.

Next unto them followed the Servants of the several Persons of all Qualities, which attended the Funeral.

These were followed by all his own Servants, as well inferiour as superiour, both within and without the Household, as also all his Bargemen at Watermen.

Next

Next unto these followed the Servants and Officers belonging to the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of the City of *London*.

Then came several Gentlemen and Attendants on the respective Ambassadors, and the other publick Ministers.

After these came the poor Knights of *Windfor* in Gowns and Hoods.

Then followed the Clerks, Secretaries, and other Officers belonging to the Army, the Admiralty, the Treasury, the Navy, and Exchequer.

After these came the Officers in Command in the Fleet, as also the Officers of the Army.

Next followed the Commissioners for Excise, those of the Army, and the Committee of the Navy.

Then followed the Commissioners for the Approbation of Preachers.

Then came the Officers, Messengers, and Clerks belonging to the Privy Council, and the Clerks of both Houses of Parliament.

Next followed his late Highness Physicians.

The Head Officers of the Army.

The chief Officers and Aldermen of the City of *London*.

The Masters of the Chancery, with his Highnes learned Council at Law.

The

The Judges of the Admiralty, the Masters of Request, with the Judges in Wales.

The Barrons of the Exchequer, the Judges of both Benches, and the Lord Mayor of London.

Next to these the Persons allied in Blood to the late Protector, and the Members of the Lords House.

After them the publick Ministers of Foreign States and Princes.

Then the Holland Ambassador alone, whose Train was born up by four Gentlemen.

Next to him the Portugal Ambassador alone, whose Train was held up by four Knights of the Order of Christ.

And thirdly the French Ambassador, whose Train was also held up by four Persons of Quality.

Then followed the Lords Commissioners of the great Seal.

The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

The Lords of the late Protectors Privy Council.

After whom followed the Chief Mourner, and those Persons of Quality which were his Assistants, and bare up his Train. All the Nobles were in close Mourning, the rest were but in ordinary, being disposed

sed in their Passage into several divisions, being distinguished by Drums and Trumpets, and by a Standard or Banner born by a Person of Honour, and his Assistant, and a Horse of State covered with black Velvet, and led by a Person of Honour, followed by two Grooms : Of which Horses there were eleven in all, four covered with black Cloth, and seven with Velvet. These being all passed in Order, at length the Chariot followed with the Effigies, on each side of which were born six Banner Rolls, twelve in all, by as many Persons of Honour. The several Pieces of his Armour were born by eight Officers of the Army, attended by a Herald and a Gentleman on each side. Next followed ~~Carter~~ principal King of Arms, attended with a Gentleman on each side bare-headed.

Then came the chief Mourner, together with those Lords and other Personages that were Supporters and Assistants to the chief Mourner.

Then followed the Horse of Honour in very rich Trappings embroidered upon Crimson Velvet, and adorned with White, Red, and Yellow Plumes, and was led by the Master of the Horse.

Finally, in the close of all followed those of his late Guard, and the Warders of the Tower.

At

At the West Gate of the Abbey Church in *Westminster* the Hearse with the Effigies thereon was taken off again from the Chariot by those ten Gentlemen who placed it thereon before, and in their passing on to carry it into the Church, the Canopy of State was by the former six Gentlemen born over it again : In which stately manner it was carried up to the East end of the Abby, and there placed in a magnificent Structure purposely erected there to receive it ; being interred amongst the Kings and Queens at *Westminster* ; for all which vast expences, his Son *Richard* might have taken up that sad expression in *Virgil*.

Infandum Regina jubes renovare dolorem.

had not the Parliament since dealt so generously with him, as to order the Payment of his Debs contracted by his Fathers Funeral. Certainly the Gentleman expressed noble and truly dutiful respects to his Memory, fit for brave Minds to imitate. Thus as great *Oliver* lived victoriously, so he was buried honourably, *Sic Exit*. It was a report that his Effigies was taken down and preserved from a threatening Multitude of the rascally People ; even he that had swayed and governed these three Nations five Years,

his Reign being troublesome, was necessitated after his Death to be protected in his Picture ; his Posterity after him being suddenly levelled.

Thus after many a weary Step, having traversed so many Crowns, I must now set my Reader down at a Commonwealth. I shall end all with a Glimpse rather than a Character, some gleaned Observations on this great Favourite of Fortune, I hope in Terms agreeing to Truth, such as are neither below or above his Estate.



THE

THE
CHARACTER,
Or rather a
GLIMPSE
OF THIS
Favourite of Fortune.

His Person he somewhat exceeded
I the usual middle Stature, proportionable without any unevenness either of lineaments or parts, accordingly being of a becoming fatness, well shaped, his aspect having somewhat of the Soldiers, inclining to redness, his usual Posture in his walking was his Hand upon his Sword ; he had a sparkling fierce Eye, nevertheless his usual deportments were both courteous and harsh at once in his encounters, where he found the least Opposition. He was hardy

and resolute in his reprehensions, subtil, temperate, and meek in his Councils ; he was of a strong Constitution, and of an active Body, an Enemy both to ease and excess ; being ever suspitious, circumspect, and over vigilant, of a notable Head-piece ; yet if he had any spare time, he disdained not to confer though in matters of least moment ; he delighted to read Men more then Books, his eloquence being Masculine and Martial, rather a natural Gift then an effect of Art, in which he did not want his holy Vestments, always managing some Passages of the sacred Writ, to which most charming part (as well as that of the Sword) he owed most of his Victories. He was always accustomed to exhort his Soldiers at the undertaking of any great enterprize, or before a Battle : He had a strict Eye over his Army, his greatest Care being to see them provided of all Necessaries, by which Foresight he was the better able to execute severe Punishment on them for their Misdemeanours. He took great Delight to discourse of the Affairs of the World, of the Interests of other Princes, in which his Judgment did so guide him, that without entering into their Cabinets, or partaking of their secret Councils, he could discourse very pertinent-ly of their Affairs, and foresaw their several

Issues

Issues and Events ; he was an excellent Physiognomer, having once seriously considered any one, he was seldom deceived in the Opinion he had of him. He was no Friend to the vain-gloriousness of Habit, and though he was always as it were fierce, of a passionate Constitution ; yet he was so fly, as to keep his Passions in ; but when there was Occasion to carry a Busines on he exposed himself with so much Vigour, as gave those he had to do withal to understand, that he was not easily perswaded from the Thing he had once resolved. He had one knack above all the rest which stood him in much stead, he had a deep Insight into the Natures and Dispositions of the common Peopl^r, who as they are impatient of Servitude, so are they incapable of intire Liberty ; frightened with the Sight of the Rod, but mutinous in the feeling of it, none talking more of Liberty, nor understanding it less then they ; more troubling themselves then their Heads with their Grievances, considering nothing but repining, at every thing ; bold Talkers so you suffer them but to talk : Above all, most tenacious of their Liberty of Conscience, rather to follow any new fangled Opinion, then to remain constant to the Old ; his Policy herein was to allow them something to induce others to

their dear Liberty (or Licensne rather) of their Tongues, which he knew he could not h'p, but so as that he had his Eyes-droppers every where, who seldom brought him Word of what they said, except they also gave an Account of what they had, and then their Estates paid for the malepertness of their Tongues, and for their chiefeſt darling of all to err in in their Opinions : He permitted them to follow and embrace what Sect they pleased, so that they all remained in Obedience to Civil Government. This was his Method, whilſt Mens reasons did comprehend ſo little, as that they needed their own experience to believe how he (Atlas-like) could ſupport ſo mighty a Frame and Machine, composed of ſo many different and diſjoynted parts, yet to keep them from ſlipping and falling in pieces; which he did, rivetting them ſo fast together, and making them all firmly cohere amonſt themſelves, as ſo many Pieces of ſoft Wax melted and moulded all in one could not cleave faster in a Ball or Globe; this was the great Work he had begun, which had not Death prevented him, he was on point of finishing, as he was a Person indefatigable both of Body and Mind.

Politicians hold, that in the changing the Government, all things, if it were convenient

ent and possible, ought to be changed ; the very Religion it self, if any were prophane enough to meddle with it. To wave their Atheistical Opinions, this may be observed, that both in respect of his Policy and Fortunes, he might very well, having so many Advantages over the present Distractions of the Times, raise his Thoughts to more then ordinary Ambitions : It is only for God to search the Heart, and try the Reins, he knows what our Religious Affections are, we ought to conjecture charitably of what we cannot determine ; this we are certain of, he could so well see through superstition (as in these Times they term it) for his better Advantage, as that his political Conscience could dispence with more then ordinary Transactions ; nevertheless he was still under the Priviledge of the Sanctuary, some of the Clergy, (as they have ever done) stuck close to him, to raise him and themselves ; whereas the late King undid himself for the then flourishing Clergy, and they themselves for him. 'Tis true, his Actions were complying with a military Soul, so that he had the less Leisure to dispute Cases of Conscience ; only he might with the Emperor, as he did, cite Saint Paul, *The Good that I would, I do not ; but the Evil that I would not, that I do ; now if I do that*

that I onld not, it is no more I that do it, but Sin that remains in me. The truth is, he made no haste in the Settlement of Ecclesiastical Affairs, as he was too crafty to disturb the powerful party, those that were unsettled in their Opinions.

As to his State Employments he took several Oaths, which for the present might stand him in some stead, yet certainly they might have endangered him to much Loss in his after enterprizes, which depended upon Faith. In his Youth I have heard he was so uncircumspect, as not to rise, experience having taught him in his latter Time Will-don to repair himself, his better Fortune miraculously making up all his breaches; his Martial Spirit advancing him in Times as it were set apart for his designs, full of Mutations and rare Accidents; for it is with Times as it is with ways, with some they are up Hill, and with some they are down Hill; nor could he have made good his Footing, had he not been full of suspic-tions, of secret Thoughts, of serious Observa-tions, full of Notes and Memorials, especi-ally as he was well read in the Men of his Time; whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to enquire of, whom to beware of; what were the Dependancy, what were the Factions, as it were keeping a Journal of his

his Thoughts, Indeed one can scarcely write that he was too suspicious, too apprehensive, though questionless he was by reason of his restless Jealousies a trouble to himself as well as others, so that which did him good one Way, did him hurt another.

Although, as hath been already said, his Flies and Familiars were useful to him for the discovering of Conspiracies, the revealing of which no Question preserved him from many Dangers from being attempted, his Nature being almost married to Troubles, his confidence made him successful, to go through them; his cunning always winding him out, he being the more ready, and sharpened by the Occasions of Perils: how soever the dazelings of his suspicions gave his Industries enough to do to save himself and help others. Questionless he had Wisdom, and a strange kind of rule and strain of Government, which all Men acknowledged in the bitterest of Times. His Armies neither in Civil nor Foreign Wars were ever unfortunate. As his great Judgment in leading as well as preserving them, in Courage personally fighting with them, determined him to be both a daring Soldier, and an expert Commander; which indeared his Soldiers so much to him, as that they suffered him to act for the future for himself what they

they did not so well disgust. Many Battles he fought with them, in all which he triumpht, his Fortunes being inviolable ; thus as he appears strangely successful to Posterity, so likewise most unhappy for thole bloody Conquests he obtained, they being in the Bowels of his own Country. He signalized the magnanimity of his Mind by putting his Soldiers on miraculous attempts, as well in the Christian as the other Heathen Parts of the World ; the Question is, so much honourable Blood being shed in his time, whether future Histories will wash his Memory clean from it, tho' Malice it self cannot charge him that he was actualy nocent, yet Posterity will hardly believe but that he was in some degree guilty. But to come closer to him, of those three Things which either should or ought to tye the Hearts of the People to those that govern, *Love, Fear, and Reverence* ; he only purchast of them chiefly to himself *Fear*, which is furthest from the Heart, which forced him, being sometimes straitned in his Affairs, to retire much to his Cabinet Council, with whom he sat often in Person, where he was always fair spoken, not without his sweetnes and blandishments of Words ; but his Rhetorick was not so vainly spent, but that before he went he informed his Judgments ;

and tho' those were cunning that he employed, yet he had still a Reserve to himself, as he had the Master-reach; such an extent his Judgment had, tho' it was not much assisted by his former Learning, or bettered by his future Studies; the Trumpet and Drum sounding so loud in his Ears, that he had little leisure to admit of the sober Councils of Philosophy. He was nevertheless well enough furnish'd, as his Wit had long before purchased *Lewis* the Eleventh's so well known flights, which he left to his Son as Maxims for his Practice, as one in another case writes of Secrets, that they should be kept till the Breath stinks. Questionless his dissimulation in Transactions, together with his Privacy and Silence in his Managements were to him Assurances beyond all Arts and Sciences. in his Time there were many that suffered the more Blood was drawn; the less Love he found, the less Treasure, which with a good Will he never received. One writes, that he distributed forty thousand Pounds a Year in charitable Uses out of his own Purse; he might have been more plain in his Expressions, certainly he meant out of the Commonwealths Moneys. We may conclude thus much, that his annual Incomes were not so great as Malice hath given out, considering

considering all his necessary expences; without dispute they had been more inlarged, if the People had loved him but half so well as they fear'd him, tho' I must still acknowledge it to be hard to distinguish of his Liberality, his Necessities having so much limited his Rewards ; tho' his Mind was high ; and he pursued his own Way as one that always revered his own Will. If we look on his careful or rather politick Liberality, somewhat may be said, as he was at vast Charges, as he made good his dexterity to impropriate himself with Foreign Instruments to obtain good Intelligence from all Parts abroad ; from which Spies all wise Men conclude, that he received more Articles of Inquisition then Negotiation, as he was still working and casting up others, not to be undermined himself. Some are so humbly minded as to believe his Designs were too high for Foreign Parts, certain it is *Carolus Gustavus* lost a dear Friend of him ; and for other Princes howsoever they might look a squint on him, he was counted by two of the greatest, and was a Friend (as if Fortune attended him) to either of them both when he pleased, they having as much as they could allied themselves to his Interests, when they once found him to be at leisure to be helpful to them.

them. 'Tis true for some Time they stood at a distance, certainly if they did not so soon see into the Passages of his Affairs, they did at last pass their Judgments on the Issue of them; perhaps they at the first saw him only at Strife, but they were afterwards forced to acknowledge him to be always a-lost, so fortunate he was in all his enterprizes. The Royal Party were once of Opinion, that he having past his Laurels, he had a Mind to reach at the Crown; they were somewhat mistaken, it had too many Thorns in it, which of themselves are sharp enough to fetch Blood, if we should not otherwise accept of the Interpretation of the Fifth Monarchy Gentleman, who means by them the displeased Soldiery, to whom such Lustres could never have been acceptable, as some other of our late Pamphletters have libell'd him to be another *Henry the Fifth*, that he would have stolen the more then protested against Diuidem off from the Pillow; if he had a Mind to it, it is more then they know, the worst they could have said of him had been, that he entertained somewhat more then self-denying Thoughts, or rather as the Poets hath it, *Magnis tamen excedit ausis.* Indeed outwardly he seemed to have little of vain Glory in him, or else he turned his dark Lanthon to himself, his

closeness being always such, that this great Politician walkt invisible ; others stood in the Light to him, but he in the Dark to all, only for his most grand Transaction there was no vizzard could disguise it, that he should after so many selfish refusals, (a Word lately put into the new canting Dictionary of the Erthusiasts) that he should after the slighting as it were of so many tendered, forfeited, and sequestred Estates presented to him by the Parliamenr for his remarkable Services ; after that in parts and piecemeals he had denied the Pomps and Vanities of this wicked World, he made it his master-design to take in all at once, as he knew well enough how to cog a die, he had thrown for all, won all, and swept all at once ; rendering his Motto, *Pax queritur Bello*, into that English which pleased him best, the Protectorship.

To reflect briefly on his Domestical Affairs, he was not uxorious, but respectful to his Wife, to his Children he had a paternal affection, careful of their educations, and of their aspirings to advancement ; he endeavoured to cast a Lustre on them which did not take with the People, tho as to his Son *Richard* there was a more then ordinary consent. For his Pleasures there is no extraordinary News of them, some

Frolick

Frolicks I have heard of, with those he was most familiar, the Truth is, he had too little Leisure for trivial repasts; he did with them as great Persons do with Banquers, come and look upon them, and so turn away. As he begun from a private Fortune, as I have already intimated, that Fortune quickened in him all Seeds of observation, being always more prosperous in himself, then confirmed from the Affections of others. For the Imputations against him of Money's in his Treasury, certainly if he had been such a hoarder, the Urgency of his pressing Affairs would never suffer him to be so poor as to stand still, and admire his Riches. Before I end, I cannot chuse but remark his hard dealings with Parliaments, which he formerly so vindicated against the late King for his breach of Priviledge about the five Members, whatsoever fine Thread he did twist for himself, in all his religious Speeches, those that are right Englishmen will never clear him from his violations, tho' he managed those actings as that they were to him but short Tempests, or small over-castings, as whatsoever Injury the Nations endured, he had one pretence or other to shift it off from his own Shoulders, extreamly mistaking himself, as the People look less on the failing of those who

have been their own choice; then on those who have taken on them to be Carvers for themselves; he thought himself crafty enough for Parliaments, and from his Death-bed he determined himself cock-sure, as he was flesht with his former Fortunes; he could never have imagined his Posterity should ever have been lean. Tis true, we may be so political, as on this Earth to endeavour to grasp these humane Affairs to our own Interests, but we must lay down our greatest Wisdoms when we come to sleep in the silent Grave, as after Death there is no providing against the cross-blows of Fortune.

To conclude, as far as we can conjecture, his Confederates continuing alike victorious, and fortunate with him, he might i he had lived to it, extended his Victories to some other parts of the World; if he did no more, it was either thro' the Disturbances of the Times, or long of himself, for what he minded he compassed. Certain it is, that he so husbanded his successes, that he did not live to see himself unfortunate, who having assumed or rather shach't his Honours, shewed himself to be one of the strangest sort of Wonders that our late Times have produced.

One writ this strange EPITAPH
on Him.

HERE LIES OLIVER CROMWELL,

WHO THAT HE MIGHT BE PROTECTOR
HIMSELF, FIRST BROUGHT THE ENGLISH

MONARCHY ON ITS KNEES.

The E N D.

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